DOUGLAS NEIL WIMBERLEY.

The Master of Emmanuel.

Cambridge.

To Capt. Wimberley with best wishes for his marriage - to keep him in memory of his own College, the

Mrs. P. Giles.

College also of his grandfather & his great grandfather.

Emmanuel College Lodge,
Cambridge. Wednesdays.

£3.15

Charles Wimberley
at Emmanuel about 1820.
First Class Classical Honours 1825

his son Douglas Wimberley
at Emmanuel about 1850
First Class Classical Honours 1852

his grandson Douglas Neil Wimberley
at Emmanuel 1914
then at the Great War
Back again in 1924 from whence
he passed into the Staff College.

COLLEGE
HISTORIES
CAMBRIDGE

EMMANUEL COLLEGE

We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

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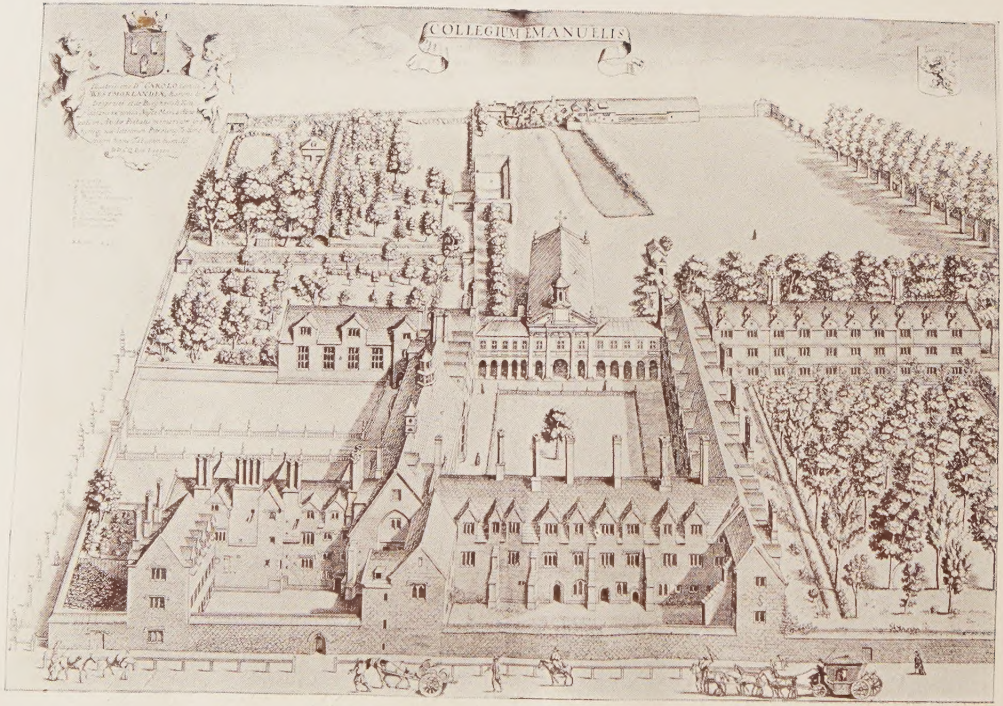

VIEW BY LOGGAN (*c.* 1688)

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

EMMANUEL COLLEGE

BY

E. S. SHUCKBURGH, LITT.D.

LIBRARIAN AND LATE FELLOW OF EMMANUEL

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON & CO.

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TO

WILLIAM CHAWNER

Master of Emmanuel College

FROM

A FRIEND OF MANY YEARS

PREFACE

The name of Emmanuel College is in itself an indication of the origin and purpose of the foundation. In a discussion as to the use of the word in *Notes and Queries* (8th Series, vii. 268, 351, 396), it is shown that it had long been the custom in the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, especially among men of a Puritan cast, to use the word as the heading of letters or books and records. One correspondent quotes 2 *Henry VI.* (IV. ii), when the clerk of Chatham is brought before Jack Cade:

Cade. Come hither, sirrah, I must examine thee: What is thy name?

Clerk. Emmanuel.

Dick. They use to write it on the top of letters: 'twill go hard with you.

The use of the word as a kind of badge is in accordance with the Scripture phraseology so common among the Puritans at all times, and has survived in the name of many Nonconformist chapels and some churches to this day. At the time of the foundation of the College it had not become vulgarized, and was

regarded with serious reverence as indicating a profound sense of the Divine presence. The 'Memorial for a Son' drawn up by Sir Walter Mildmay, and lately published by the Rev. Arundell St. John Mildmay,* begins and ends with the exhortation to 'fear God and love Him,' to 'read the Scriptures daily and hear sermons diligently.' The whole of these admonitions, with their worldly prudence and religious earnestness, give the clue to the purpose of Sir Walter in his foundation, as I have endeavoured to show in this book. Details of College management, of changing methods and ideals, of pecuniary difficulties or increasing wealth, may have their charm; but the real interest of the history of Emmanuel is that it coincides with, and reflects, a great national movement. The College rose with the rising tide of Puritanism, declined with its decline; contributed even more than its just proportion to the seed-plot of the New England in the West; shared to the full in the dawn of a more liberal theology; and through the days of decadence and deadness, though it did not escape their numbing influence, never wholly lost the love of learning or the sense of duty to its trust. Throughout the eighteenth century, with decreasing numbers, and for the greater part of the time with straitened means, the College never ceased to produce men who gained distinction in letters or science or politics. In these later days it has always kept up with, and sometimes led, the movements in favour of larger and more liberal views of education, of raising the standard and multiplying the subjects of learning and research.

* *College Magazine*, vol. v., p. 5.

Still, it is the earlier chapters in its history that must always have the more vivid interest, because it was then that it most obviously reflects the spirit of the time. For the first fifty years of its existence it was marked by extreme Puritanism, though perhaps with a diminishing vehemence; but the beginning of the Civil War found it with a strongly Royalist Master (Holdsworth), who committed the College by paying £100 in its name at the King's demand. And when the Restoration came it was clear that the extraordinary change which had come over the nation at large had had its full effect in the College. With hardly any exception the Society were ready to acquiesce in the change and all it involved. The Master (Dillingham) refused, indeed, to conform in 1662, but his objection was neither to Royalty nor to Church authority, properly speaking, and his example found few followers. The movement had spent itself in the College, as it had in the country. It may, I fear, be thought that the interest of this subject has led to a disproportionate space being assigned in this book to the earlier period, to the neglect of later stages in the development of the College. I can only plead that as we get nearer our own time what has to be said seems more fitted for a hand-book than a history, and that what is needed to supplement this book is not so much a larger history of changes of statutes and expansions of estates, but a biographical catalogue of men educated within the College walls. They, after all, represent the success or failure of the foundation, the merits of which are best ascertained by its fruits. But this is an undertaking for which I have neither the capability nor the time.

I hope that some younger man may be found to do for Emmanuel what has been done for Caius, and is being done for King's and Christ's.

Previous accounts of the College of any considerable length have been—

1. By Thomas Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1655). His quaint humour must always give delight, and he has the advantage of writing at a very interesting point of the College history. But his desire to be epigrammatic sometimes makes him oblivious of duller but necessary details.

2. By George Dyer, in *History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (1814). Dyer entered Emmanuel in 1774 from Christ's Hospital, the last year of Farmer's tutorship, to whom his literary abilities much commended him. After his degree in 1778 he held a number of minor educational posts, and eventually settled in Clifford's Inn, where he died in 1841. He was a friend (and butt) of Charles Lamb. His numerous works in prose and verse are of no great value, but his account of Emmanuel in the book above mentioned is interesting from his personal enthusiasm, and for the account of many of its worthies, some of whom he personally knew.

3. By C. H. Cooper, in the third volume of his *Memorials of Cambridge* (1858-1866). Every Cambridge man owes a debt of gratitude to the extraordinary industry and accuracy of this great antiquary. His *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* (1853) has also been of great help in the early part of the work, as also his *Annals of Cambridge* (1842).

4. By Willis and Clark, in the *Architectural History*

of the University of Cambridge (1886), which contains the best account of the College buildings.

5. By Atkinson and Clark, in *Cambridge Described and Illustrated* (1897).

6. *The Emmanuel College Magazine* was started in May, 1889, under the editorship of Dr. Adam, now Senior Tutor, and continued under that of Mr. J. B. Peace, the Bursar. It appears once a term, and contributions have been made to it by many members of the College, past and present, on points of interest in the history of the College, as, for instance, by Dr. J. J. Raven, Vicar of Fressingfield (Sancroft's old home), who is the author of a *History of Suffolk*, and an enthusiast as to all that concerns the College and the Archbishop. By no one have more numerous and valuable contributions been made than by the editor, Mr. Peace, himself. The result is an accumulation of facts forming a fairly complete account of the College, which, if collected, would make a much better book than mine. I have been largely indebted to this storehouse of information. The account of Hubbard's tutorship (pp. 139-151), and of the early endowments of the College in the Appendix, are, the former mainly, and the latter wholly, contributions by Mr. Peace to this Magazine. For leave to use them, and for much other help in correcting proofs and pointing out sources of information in the College Treasury, I owe him incalculable gratitude. The Index I owe to my wife.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

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CHAPTER I

THE SITE OF THE COLLEGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS BUILDINGS

The continuity of English life is, perhaps, by nothing more vividly illustrated than by the antiquity of the occupation of certain portions of the soil for definite public objects, especially in connexion with religion or education.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has been founded about 320 years, but it stands on ground held for ecclesiastical and quasi-educational purposes (with a brief interval) for more than 650 years. The Dominicans or Black (Preaching) Friars came into England first in 1221, and some time between that date and 1240 they had possession of a house and church standing about 200 yards south of Barnwell Gate, at the point where the King's Ditch turned to the north in the direction of the river, down what is now Hobson's Street. The west end of the church looked upon the highroad, which came to be called Preachers' Street, after the friars, and is now St. Andrew's Street, while on the south side of it ran a road passing through the present site of the principal court of the College in the direction of Newmarket. In 1240, by a writ of

Henry III., an inquisition was held, in consequence of which the friars were allowed to acquire from the town this road and some land beyond it, giving up in return some land on the north side of the church, which is now Emmanuel Street.* The friars thus possessed grounds of about eight acres, to which two were subsequently added. The Dominican church stood on the site of the present hall and combination-room, and the buildings for the accommodation of the friars were apparently between the church and Emmanuel Street, the present library (at right angles to the church) occupying the site of some considerable building, perhaps the refectory.

The friars appear to have taken part in the University life of the time, and to have proceeded to degrees in divinity. The names of a good many members of the house are preserved who played a more or less conspicuous part in the various controversies which agitated the ecclesiastical world up to the time of the Dissolution. Their chief benefactor was Alice, widow of Robert de Vere, fifth Earl of Oxford (ob. 1295), whom, indeed, they are said to have regarded as their foundress. They were not one of the wealthy foundations, though they enjoyed a pension from the Crown, for their house was dissolved under the Act of 1536, which only affected those corporations whose income was under £200. The last Prior, Gregory Dodds, B.D., escaped any ill consequences by joining with fourteen of his friars in surrendering the house to the King on

* It may be remarked that by a fresh agreement with the town the College will probably reabsorb this ground, the road being removed some 50 yards to the north.

April 16, 1538. He was rewarded with the living of Smarden in Kent, and though during the dangerous period following the Act of the Six Articles he seems to have been in some peril, he survived it and the two next reigns, dying Dean of Exeter in 1570. Another of the surrendering friars, John Scory, had still more liberal compensation, for he was successively Preacher at Canterbury, Bishop of Rochester and of Chichester; and, though he was deprived of Chichester by Mary in 1553, he was sent to Hereford by Elizabeth in 1559, and died Bishop of that see in 1585. He seems to have been very vehement on the side of his new opinions, and during the Catholic reaction he saved his own life by a flight to the Continent, while he signed a letter urging those in prison for their faith to stay and suffer martyrdom. He must have been almost the only one of the friars who lived to see or hear of the site of his old monastery being occupied by the Protestant foundation of Emmanuel.

After the surrender of 1538, the site with the buildings on it—no doubt the usual stripping of lead from the church and other spoliation having meanwhile taken place—passed into private ownership, in spite of a petition from the Vice-Chancellor that, as well as other religious houses, it should be converted into a College. In 1544 the ground and buildings were granted to Edward Elrington and Humphry Metcalfe, with remainder to the heirs of Elrington (April 16). It was, however, sold on March 2 in the next year to William Sherwood, and in 1581 to Robert Taylor (April 1).

To what uses the grounds or buildings had been put between 1544 and 1583 we have no information. But on

June 12 in the latter year they were conveyed by Taylor to Laurence Chaderton (already selected as the Master of the new College) and his brother-in-law, Richard Culverwell, citizen of London, and by them conveyed on November 23 of the same year for £550 to Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel College.* The charter of Queen Elizabeth empowering Sir Walter to found a College is dated January 11, 1583-84; his deed of foundation, still preserved, is dated May 25, 1584; and on the 29th Francis Chamberlain, of Great Melton in Norfolk, conveyed to the Master, Fellows, and Scholars the rectory and tithes of Little Melton and land in Little and Great Melton, thus attesting their existence as a corporate body. It consisted of a Master, Laurence Chaderton, B.D., late Fellow of Christ's College; three Fellows, Charles Chadwick, of Christ's College, William Jones and Laurence Pickering, both of Clare Hall; and four scholars, John Duke, Richard Rolffe, John Starkye, and Robert Houghton. Four other Fellows were admitted in the course of the year.† Though the statutes given by the founder are dated October 1, 1585, entrances of Fellow-commoners, pen-

* 'All that scite, circuit, ambulance and procinct of the late Priory of Fryers commonly called the blackfryers within the Towne of Cambrige . . . and all messuages, houses, buildynges, barnes, stables, dovehouses, orchards, gardens, pondes, stewes, waters, lande and soyle within the said scite. . . . And all walles of stone, brick, or other thinge compassinge and enclosing the said scite.'

† John Cock from Christ's, John Richardson from Clare Hall (afterwards Master of Peterhouse), Nathaniel Gilbie from Christ's, William Branthwaite from Clare (afterwards Master of Caius). William Bright from Christ's, John Grey from Queens', were admitted in 1588, or at any rate only began to receive payments in that year.

sioners, and sizars are recorded from November 1, 1584, as many as eighty names being entered in the College register between that date and July 1, 1585.* It therefore appears that there must have been some structure early in this year capable of accommodating a considerable number of men. The history of the development of these buildings seems to begin with a rapid adaptation of some of those already existing. The church was sufficiently preserved—at any rate, as far as the walls and roof were concerned—to be at once converted into a dining-hall; for in 1586 we learn from the Bursar's accounts that the parlour at the east end of it, with chambers above, was being fitted up, the hall being referred to as already in use. The building already noticed as having possibly been the refectory of the friary (now the library) was, it seems, in the same space of time repaired and fitted up as a chapel with chambers above. This formed the east side of the smaller court, the west being a range of buildings standing somewhat like the western side of the present New Court, and with the kitchens and buttery facing on Preachers' Street, also with chambers above. The

* The first recorded list of stipends is dated 1585, and probably refers to the Lady Day audit:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Master for half a year ...	15	0	0				
Chadwick, Fellow and Lecturer	4	0	4	and	1	6	8
Jones, Fellow and Catechist ...	4	0	4	and	1	6	8
Pickering	4	0	4				
Cock	4	0	0				
Richardson	4	0	4				
Gilbie	4	0	0				
Branthwaite	4	0	4				
Eighteen scholars, each	1	13	4				

entrance was in the middle of a wall facing Emmanuel Street,* and from it a path passed between the parlour and the entrance to the chapel and Master's Lodge into the greater court beyond. The west side of this greater court was the first built. It was a range facing Preachers' Street, standing much farther back than the present frontage, at both ends of which were projecting wings. That on the north seems to have consisted of chambers, but that on the south was the first library. This was at one time doubtful.† But an entry in the Bursar's accounts for the year 1657 speaks of iron SS for the library, and Loggan's plan shows them on the south wing of the range at right angles to the hall.

The next step taken, almost at once, was the commencement of the 'Founder's Range' on the south side of the greater court, opposite the dining-hall, on the same site on which the restored buildings still stand. This was, at any rate, approaching completion by the end of 1587, for in December of that year the founder sends a supplementary statute, in which he desires that 'a single chamber *of those recently erected*—namely, that which is at the end of the range towards the east, between the lowest chamber and the upper chamber next the roof—may be appropriated to such of our descendants as may be studying in the College.' The set of rooms still spoken of as 'Founder's Chamber,' and

* An ornamental doorway is shown on Loggan's plan, on which were the words: 'Sacræ Theologiæ Studiosis Gualterus Mildmaius An° Domini 1584.' The architect of these earliest buildings was Ralf Symons, whose portrait is in the gallery, and who had done much work in the construction of Trinity.

† Willis and Clark (vol. ii., p. 702) thought that it was probably in the range north of the hall, 'which extended from the north end of the kitchen-range to the street.'

recently occupied as such, is in the same situation, though the building has been renewed. Entries in the Bursar's accounts show that building operations were going on through 1588, stone being carted from Cambridge Castle, and timber being sent by various benefactors. In the same year the hall was whitewashed, the larger court paved, the Master's Lodge in course of building, the great gate completed, and the parlour furnished. The College was now sufficiently advanced for a 'dedication' festival, which was accordingly celebrated in the presence of the founder in 1588. The Bursar's accounts show that a great banquet was given. Two does are brought by the keepers (probably Sir Walter's), a 'crag of sturgeon' is purchased, the chambers are all 'dressed,' and the street 'cleansed.'

The buildings of the College remained in the state here indicated, with some unimportant addition to the kitchen range, until 1632. Meanwhile, the arrangement of the gardens and paddock, with some modifications afterwards to be noted, was not widely different from what it is now. But there was one building which has totally disappeared. That was a tennis-court. It seems to have existed from the earliest times of the College, perhaps even before the College itself was founded. It stood along the wall of the Fellows' Garden, parallel with the pond. It was originally roofed, but the roof was removed in 1632. It continued, however, to be much used. A College order of October 29, 1651, runs:

'For the better regulating of the Tenniz-court it is ordered by the Master and Fellows *unanimi consensu* that the key of it shalbe in the keeping of the Deane, who is

to take care that the door be kept lockt, and never suffered to play dureing the howers hereafter mentioned, vizt from one of the clock till three in the afternoone and from eight of the clock at night till tenn the next morning; unless any of the fellows shall desire to play there in any of these howers, who may take any fellow commoner with them; yet soe as they cleare the Court, shutt the doore, and returne the key to the Deane at their comeing away.'

The tennis-court seems to have fallen into disuse early in the eighteenth century,* when the boundary of the Fellows' Garden was extended so as to include it, its south wall forming part of the new garden wall. This south wall was partly demolished by a fall of two lofty elms in a violent storm of March 24, 1895. When the damaged portion of this wall was being removed, a small teapot was found carefully bricked up, containing a halfpenny of 1773 and the following paper:

'This wall was New Cacet Next the Master's Close in Feburey 1810.

By Wm. Overland, Bricklare.
Jno. Farran, Labourer.

	s.	d.
Bricklar Pr Day	2	8
Labourer do. do.	1	9
A Quarten Loaf	1	2½
A Quart of Ale	0	5
Meat Pr Pound	0	8

Wm. Overland,
Late Serjant in 46 Regiment.'

* A memorandum in the treasury records: '8 March 1734-5 I began to pull down the fellows' orchard wall and the tenis cort wall.'

To return to the buildings. The first great change was started in 1632 by the erection of the 'Brick Building,' or, as we sometimes now call it, the 'Old Court,' extending southward from the eastern end of the 'Founder's Range' to what was then called Pits Garden, which seems to be the piece of land acquired by the College only in 1899. The contract for this building is dated February 9, 1632-33, between John Westley, bricklayer, and the Master, Dr. William Sandcroft, and the Fellows. The amount of the bricklayer's contract was £665, that of the carpenter (Henry Man) £285. Both were to have the use of materials from the tennis-court—the bricklayer the 'tyles and lathes,' and the carpenter 'the timber and cover.' The bricklayer was also to have the materials of the old wall, which ran along the site of the new building. Bishop Bennet, in 1788, says that £500 had been spent on it since, and that even so it was in a 'tottering state, and only kept together by the strength of the chimneys.' He attributes this to the original 'execution' having been 'shamefully negligent.' Certainly, some external features, such as the dormers of the garret windows, have had to be removed, perhaps because they were badly constructed; but either the Bishop took an unnecessarily pessimistic view, or the subsequent repairs were very effective, for the building is still substantially sound as well as picturesque. At any rate, bricklayer and carpenter were punctual, the last payment being made on April 22, 1634, nor can £20 for extras to the bricklayer be thought excessive.

The next great change in building and arrangement of the College was started soon after the restoration of

1660 by Dr. Sancroft, the future nonjuring Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Master from August, 1662, to May, 1665. His immediate motives were two. A considerable legacy of books from Dr. Holdsworth (which, however, did not reach the College) made it necessary to have a larger library, and the chapel was in many ways distasteful to the Church party, now in the ascendant, particularly in the fact that it stood north and south, instead of east and west. He therefore designed to build a new chapel and library, though the old chapel was afterwards used for the latter. This plan had been constantly in his thoughts during his mastership. In a letter to his old tutor, Ezechiel Wright, dated from the College on January 17, 1663, he says (speaking of his hope to secure Holdsworth's library):

'For the performance whereof, and also for the removing that great mark of singularity, which all the world so talks of, in the unusual prospect and dress of the Chapel (different from that of other Colleges), I have it in design to make both a new Library and Chapel too.'*

Though his rapid promotions—first to the deanery of York and then to that of St. Paul's—prevented him from carrying out this work as Master (he resigned on succeeding to St. Paul's, May, 1665), he did not lose interest in it. In one way his connexion with St. Paul's probably influenced the final result; for both before and after the Great Fire he was in constant intercourse with Christopher Wren, in surveying the old Cathedral, which was becoming ruinous, and in

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i., p. 130. The original letter is in the College treasury, and will be given at length hereafter.

making plans for the new one after the fire. It was no doubt in part owing to this intimacy that Wren was asked to make a plan for the new chapel, and for the cloister and noble gallery above it, which is now such a notable feature in the College. Sancroft's successor in the mastership (1666), Dr. Breton, was eager to carry out the project, and, writing in January, 1667, to Sancroft, he mentions the receipt of 'the modell of our Chapell,' for which he conveys the warm thanks of the whole society. In another letter (September 24, 1667) he mentions two criticisms on the model: first, that it did not seem lofty enough, and, secondly, that if there was to be no east window the side-windows should be larger. Sancroft started the subscription list for the chapel, and subscribed munificently himself.

The work was begun early in 1668. In January Breton writes to Sancroft: 'We prepare for the foundation of our Chapell, and much desire Dr. Wren's advice upon the place.' In February he went into Northamptonshire, and signed a contract with Simon Wise, of Dean, and Nicholas Ashby, of Ketton, for the supply of stone. And in March money is recorded as paid to labourers for pulling down the old wall on the east side of the court; in May more is paid for pumps and buckets to remove the water from the foundations. Forty large trees were given by the Earl of Westmorland (descendant of the founder) from Apethorpe, which were brought by water to Barnwell. Much other timber was bought elsewhere. Dr. Breton, however, did not live to see the building completed. He died in 1676, and was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Holbech (who heads the list of original subscribers), but it was not

till September 29, 1677, that the consecration was performed by Bishop Gunning of Ely. The gradual improvement of the internal fittings went on for some ten years more,* and the organ was not erected till 1682. The painting by Giacomo Amiconi, a Venetian, now on the altar-piece was presented in 1734 by Christopher Nevile, Fellow-commoner. As a final act in the removal of the place of worship of the College, the bodies of Chaderton and Breton were removed from the old to the new chapel in December, 1677. Along with the chapel was constructed the present cloister and gallery above it, also from a design by Wren, who proposed building it of red brick. It was, however, for some unknown reason ashlared from the first. The only other variation in this cloister from Wren's design was the widening of the central arch.

This erection made the general configuration of the large court what it is now. But its aspect has undergone two changes. First in the Founder's Range. In 1714-15, on March 10, there was a College order for the suspension of two Fellowships because 'a good sum of money' was required for the repair of the buildings, which 'in the walls, roofs, and tilings are much decayed and out of repair.' Four years afterwards (August 7, 1719) another College order directed that the Founder's Range should be pulled down and a new range of buildings erected. Subscriptions were invited, and a total of £2,400 was raised, Thomas, Earl of Westmor-

* The woodwork was designed by a Mr. Pierce and Mr. Oliver of London, executed by Cornelius Austin, and completed in 1678. But the east end was at first adorned with purple satin hangings, which were replaced (by Sancroft's liberality) in 1687 by an altar-piece of carved oak, along with more elaborate altar-rails.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE PICTURE GALLERY

land, heading the list with £500, and his brother and successor in the earldom, John, giving £100. Besides this, the College borrowed £1,100, and a College order of January 8, 1725, shows that this had not been paid, and that about £300 still remained owing to the contractors. In consequence, therefore, 'of an *insigne detrimentum*, by reason of the great debts the College has contracted in rebuilding that part of it commonly called the Founder's Range,' it was agreed not to fill up Fellowships till such time as the Master and Fellows shall think proper. The debt was slowly reduced, but it was not till December, 1742, that it was thought possible to add to the number of the Fellows, and not till October, 1745, that the College was declared free of debt. The building itself seems to have been practically completed in the summer of 1724, when Lord and Lady Westmorland were entertained in the College, but payments for work of various sorts in it go on till October, 1728.* The building was on October 15, 1811, gutted by an accidental fire, none of it escaping except the stone front next the court and part of the inside walls. Another collection was made of £4,484, and it was rebuilt in the same style and with the same internal arrangements, except that the panelling of the rooms was not restored. It has not been altered since, except that the candles which thirty years ago dimly flickered on the staircases have been supplanted first by gas, and lastly by the electric light supplied by the engine in the paddock.

* The range was henceforth called the Westmorland Building, and the arms of the Earl of Westmorland were placed over the central staircase at a cost of £150.

The next alteration, which finally brought the front court to its present aspect, was not consummated till 1769. This was the demolition of the old range facing Preachers' Street, on the west of the great court, and the erection of the present frontage. This had been contemplated as early as 1752, and a plan was prepared by Mr. Burrough (afterwards Sir James); but it appears not to have been approved, and a considerable sum of money which had been subscribed was returned to the donors. One at least of the objections to the scheme came from the Master (Richardson), who wished to have the combination-room added to the Lodge. In 1769 the scheme was revived, and in March it was resolved to adopt the plan of Sir James Burrough. In July, however, of the same year a new plan was substituted, made by Burrough's pupil, James Essex, who had already done much work in Cambridge at Queens', the University Library, St. Catherine's, Trinity, and Great St. Mary's. He had also been employed by the College, as far back as 1764, in the alteration and repair of the hall,* and he now designed the west front as it stands at present. Subscriptions to about £3,000 were collected, and the work was completed in 1775. Besides the great change in the appearance of the College thus brought about, the plan involved the closing of the great gate in Emmanuel Street, which had been the principal entrance since the foundation of the

* The order for the alteration of the hall is dated June 24, 1760. The decayed walls were cased in stone, the eaves were replaced by a stone parapet, the large outside lantern was removed, and inside the original open roof was closed by the present ceiling, and the floor relaid with Ketton stone. The work cost £1,800. The present oak floor was substituted in 1876.

College.* But it was not until 1824 that the gateway itself disappeared. The court towards Emmanuel Street had remained open (except for a wall) all through these changes, but in this year the present range of buildings, called the 'New Court,' was erected, and in 1829 the kitchen range was extended as far as the back line of the 1824 building. At the same time the old Bungay Building of 1613 was pulled down, and the present front to St. Andrew's Street cased and embattled.

Since that time the alterations have been mostly on the east side of the College. In 1873-74 the new Lodge was built, involving a slight change in the division between the Master's and Fellows' Garden. Such portions of the old Lodge as remained standing were converted into lecture-rooms and chambers, the old lecture-room to the west of the hall being at the same time added to the buttery. In 1886 the range of stable building at the east of the paddock was demolished, and a hostel for students built, which was doubled by two new wings in 1893-94, at which time also the house which stood immediately east of the pond (Emmanuel House) was pulled down, and the present Tutor's house erected.

The object of this sketch has been to point out the chief organic changes by which, step by step, the buildings as they stood on the site purchased by the founder have assumed their present shape and arrangement. Elaborate details are given with great accuracy

* The alterations in the western range along St. Andrew's Street had, however, been gradual, the south wing being pulled down along with the Founders' Range in 1719; the middle wing, with the butteries, in 1769. The third wing—the Bungay building—as stated in the text, remained till 1829 (*Emmanuel College Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 90).

in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (vol. ii.), and much light has been thrown upon this part of the College history by the present Bursar, Mr. J. B. Peace, in his articles in the College magazine, in which he has printed large extracts from the College accounts and other documents in the treasury. It is clear that the College owes much to the zeal and self-denial of its former Masters and Fellows, while the large subscriptions which were from time to time raised show that it won and preserved the affection and loyalty of its members. The amenity of its grounds also is greatly owing to the care and foresight of the authorities from the earliest times. Chaderton, the first Master, was a great planter of trees, and rejoiced to think that he was thus serving future ages. His example was followed by others, and though, of course, many of the best trees have disappeared from time to time, especially a famous cedar once in the Fellows' Garden, the ultimate result is that the Emmanuel grounds, for beauty, variety, and shade, need fear comparison with hardly any College in Cambridge.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDER AND THE OBJECT OF HIS FOUNDATION

The recoil from the reactionary policy of Mary's reign had been quickened by the horror caused by the St. Bartholomew massacre and the cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands. The religious question in England was also inextricably mixed with politics by the action of Pius V. in issuing a Bull deposing Elizabeth (1570) and by the presence of Mary of Scotland (1567-1587), round whom frequent conspiracies against the Queen centred. All that there was of energy and earnestness among Englishmen was drawn into the quarrel, and in an ever-increasing degree was found on the side of the reformed faith. But quickened life and roused energies are certain to entail diversity of opinion. The Queen would have said 'thus far and no farther,' and would have confined the revolt from the ecclesiastical government of the past, if not to the limits prescribed by her father, at least to those set by the legislation of her own time. But such limitation is beyond the power of Sovereigns or Parliaments. Awakened intellects and consciences will find divergent outlets, all the more

surely when the influence is not confined to extremists and emotional natures, but reaches the most sober and reasonable of mankind. Thus, putting aside a return to 'Papistry,' which to a large majority of Englishmen soon came to be beyond argument, there was a growing belief that the salvation of the country depended on the 'godliness' of the people, and that this godliness could only be secured by a nearer approach to primitive Christianity than the Church as then constituted offered to her members. The more uncompromising were for leaving the Church, but the soberer or more cautious were for internal reformation and for bringing the Church nearer to their ideal. For this purpose it was necessary before all to train a body of preachers, not ignorant and violent, but at once learned and zealous, instructed in all that scholars should know, but trained also to use their learning in the service of the reformed faith. This last is the spirit in which Walter Mildmay resolved to found Emmanuel. He had always shown interest in education:

'He was one of the original governors of the free grammar-school established at Chelmsford in March, 1550-51, and gave an annuity of 52s. to Christ's Hospital in London by deed dated April 10, 1556. To Christ's College he, by deed dated March 10, 1568-69, gave £20 a year, payable out of the Manor of Farcet, co. Huntingdon, for the foundation of a Greek lectureship and six scholarships, and for the annual stipend to a preacher being a Fellow of the College, B.D. or M.A., and student in divinity. In 1575 he gave stone for completing the tower of Great St. Mary's Church in Cambridge, and he warmly encouraged the foundation of the free school at Middleton in Lancashire' (Cooper, *Athenæ*, ii. 55).

His belief also in the importance of preaching may be traced in the records of the Privy Council, where he frequently appears as using his influence to protect the 'prophesyings' now cropping up in every direction, often to the alarm of the Government—which, perhaps not without reason, suspected them of political tendencies—and under the frown of most of the Bishops, but, as Mildmay believed, from the natural and meritorious desire of the people to hear the Word of God, which they could not do from the ignorant and incompetent clergy.* He determined that he could not do better than help to guide this inevitable tendency by providing that, as the people would have preachers, they might not have ignorant and intemperate preachers.

The first question that arises is—Why could he not have secured this by endowments in existing Colleges, particularly in his own College of Christ's? The answer, in the first place, is furnished by what we know of the state of the University in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. A royal letter of March, 1560, refers to the fact that 'the study of divinity and the Scriptures are at this present much decayed within the University of Cambridge' (Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 159). This was the natural result of the frequent and arbitrary changes as to ecclesiastical supremacy, religious cere-

* See note in Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, p. 183. From the report of the archdeaconry of London (1562) 'it appears that some of the beneficed clergy held three or four, and one five, livings together; that few or none of the curates were graduates; that many of the Vicars—nay, and parsons—were non-graduates; that not above a third part of them were preachers; that as for their learning, it was commonly set down *Latine aliquot verba intelligit, Latine ut cum que intelligit, Latine pauca intelligit.* . . . Scarcely one in a hundred is able and willing to preach the Word of God.'

monies and dogma, during the three previous reigns. The ablest and most conscientious men sought refuge abroad, and either never returned, or, if they did, returned with feelings embittered against the opposite party. Now that the tide had turned in favour of Protestantism, the Catholics found Cambridge impossible, and English colleges and seminaries were formed abroad—at Douay, Rome, and elsewhere.

The predominant party left in possession, however, was by no means at peace in itself. Intemperate and aggressive Puritanism made itself more and more conspicuous. In 1565 George Wythers, M.A., of Corpus, preached a sermon 'in which he urged the destruction of all such painted windows in the University as were of a superstitious character. Whereupon followed a great destruction of them and the danger of a greater by some zealots there' (*ibid.*, p. 215). But the most intense feeling was caused by the question as to wearing the square cap and surplice, 'which many scrupled, and chose rather to leave their colleges and studies' (*ibid.*, p. 217);* and in the same year nearly

* In the poem called the *Mad Puritan* in Pierce's collection of English ballads these particular points are recalled:

'In the pure house of Immanuel
I had my education,
Where my friends surmise
I dazzled my eyes
With the light of revelation:
Boldly I preach,
Hate a cross, hate a surplice,
Mitres, copes, and rochets:
Come, hear me pray
Nine times a day,
And fill your head with crochets.'

the whole of the Fellows and scholars of St. John's came into chapel without their surplices and hoods, and 'withal made some diversity in the manner of the administration of the communion, and so continued to do' (*ibid.*, p. 219). The movement against the surplice spread to Trinity and other Colleges. It was, of course, only the outward expression of an anti-conformist revolt, which now found its most eminent champion in Thomas Cartwright, who was so popular a preacher that when he preached at St. Mary's 'the windows were taken out to enable those to hear him who could not get into the church,' and who, as Lady Margaret Professor, 'strongly attacked the Church establishment, contrasting existing institutions and practices with Apostolic times.' His rapid deprivation and subsequent collision with the authorities brought out the fact that his opinions were shared by many of the influential statesmen of the day, such as Leicester and Walsingham.

Mildmay had long left the University when these events occurred. There is little doubt, however, as to the side on which his sympathies were likely to be. But though deeply religious, he was first of all a man of affairs, who all his life had been a Government official, and had served under such different Sovereigns as Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary I. without incurring danger or disgrace from his religious opinions. Born about 1522, son of Thomas Mildmay, auditor of the Court of Augmentations, he had, after a short career at Christ's, followed his father's footsteps, and before the death of Henry VIII. had obtained some subordinate position in the same court, and before 1546

had been appointed one of its two Surveyors-General. The various offices which he held thenceforth, the commissions on which he served, and the grants and manors which he received in payment, are all set forth by Cooper (*Athenæ*, ii. 51 *sq.*), and copied thence into the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is enough for our purpose to note that he does not appear to have been for a single day unconnected with some position of trust. He generally held several at the same time, and in 1566 succeeded Sir Richard Sackville as Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office which he retained till his death (May 31, 1589). Such a man, however much he may have sympathized with the religious views of the advanced Puritans, is not likely to have approved the breaches of the law which brought upon Cartwright and others so much trouble and persecution; he was more likely to have agreed with Bartholomew Clark, of King's, who

'complained what an impediment these contentions had laid in the way to all useful and learned studies. That these men had by their counsels so disturbed all things, that the time which was wont heretofore to be employed in good arts and sciences was now spent and consumed in trivial janglings *de lana caprina*' (Cooper, *Ann.*, ii. 224).

He was, indeed, careful to disclaim any breach of the law, as in the often-repeated story of his reply to Elizabeth, who said that she had heard that 'he had erected a Puritan foundation:'

'No, madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof.'

Still, he had in his mind to secure by his foundation something that he did not think could be got at Christ's or elsewhere. His College was to be for divinity students—at any rate, as far as scholars and Fellows were concerned, as was indicated by the inscription over the gateway already quoted (p. 6).

'I wish all,' he says in his nineteenth statute, 'to understand, whether Fellows, scholars, or even pensioners, who are to be admitted into the College, that the one object which I set before me in erecting this College was to render as many as possible fit for the administration of the Divine Word and Sacraments; and that from this seed-ground the English Church might have those that she can summon to instruct the people and undertake the office of pastors, which is a thing necessary above all others. Therefore let Fellows and scholars who obtrude into the College with any other design than to devote themselves to sacred theology, and eventually to labour in preaching the Word, know that they are frustrating my hope and occupying the place of Fellow or scholar contrary to my ordinance.'

The ultimate aim of the founder, therefore, was that his scholars and Fellows, after devoting their time at Cambridge to the study of theology, should become preachers in various parts of the country. The former of these objects he endeavoured to secure by enforcing residence with great strictness, and suspending all payment of stipend during absence (except for causes to be approved by the Master and a majority of the society), thus preventing them from occupying the time which he intended to be devoted to theological study in acting as private chaplains or tutors or in similar outside work. The second object—that they should eventually

become preachers—he tried more effectually to promote by a supplementary statute or injunction given in 1587 (*de mora sociorum*), which enacted that a Fellow should vacate his Fellowship when of the standing of D.D. (ten years from M.A.), or, if he actually took that degree, at the end of a year after doing so. He stated the object of this statute thus:

'We have founded the College with a design that it should be seed-plot of learned men for the supply of the Church, and for the sending forth of as large a number as possible of those who shall instruct the people in the Christian faith. We would not have any Fellow suppose that we have given him in this College a perpetual abode —a warning which we deem the more necessary in that we have ofttimes been present when many experienced and wise men have taken occasion to lament, and have supported their complaints by past and present instances, that in other Colleges a too protracted stay of Fellows has been no slight bane to the common weal and to the interests of the Church' (Mullinger, i. 314).

This object of the founder had the full sympathy of the first Master, Chaderton. In a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross in October, 1578 (the only work of Chaderton's that I have come across in print), he had denounced in scathing terms the idle and unpreaching clergy:

'Where are the lippes of those ministers which doe preserve knowledge, or those messengers of God, at whose mouthes his poore people shoulde seeke his lawe? Naye rather, where be not whole swarmes of idle, ignorant, and ungodly Curates and Readers, who neither can nor will goe before the deare flocke of Christ in soundnes of

doctrine and integritie of life? . . . What shall I saye of our domme dogges,* non-residents, and all those who serve mortall and sinfull men, with symonie, flattering wordes, and servile obedience, not lawfully to obtaine one roome in the vineyard of the Lorde, but two, three, foure or moe places (which is unlawful), the which though they miscall preferments, yet in deede they be so weighty charges, that the wysest and strongest of all is altogether insufficient for an acceptable discharge thereof.'

And this sympathy with the founder's object continued to the end. When, in 1627, the Fellows petitioned the King to abrogate the statute (Sidney, the only other College which had had a similar statute, having already obtained its abolition), Chaderton, who had ceased for five years to be Master, and was residing in the town, drew up a paper addressed to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, arguing strongly against setting aside the express design of the founder:

'I am fully persuaded,' he says, 'upon divers speeches which I have heard at severall tymes from him, that he would rather not have founded the College, than have omitted this statute. Other statutes were suggested to him by friends, but this proceeded soly from himself, and he took more time of deliberation to compose and sett downe this statute than any other.'

What has been said will sufficiently explain why Mildmay preferred erecting a new foundation to bestow-

* A sermon once a month seems to have been the rule in parishes where the new 'prophesyings' had not found their way. Hall's *Satires*, ii. 5:

> 'Who wants a Churchman that can service say,
> Read fast and fair his monthly homily?'

ing more money on any existing one, especially as his own College of Christ's (of which he had already been a benefactor) was at that time under a Master who had been elected contrary to his advice, and whose soundness in Calvinistic theology, or at any rate whose energy in promoting it, was thought doubtful. He had, too, in Chaderton, as he thought, ready to hand exactly the man who could be trusted to build up a new College by his prudence and learning, and to give it the right direction in theology. This purpose of the founder is the key to the early history of the College, which cannot be understood unless we in some degree seize his point of view, and, whether agreeing or disagreeing with his opinions, are prepared to believe in their absolute sincerity.

CHAPTER III

THE MASTERSHIP OF LAURENCE CHADERTON (1584-1622)

Laurence Chaderton was born (about 1539) at Oldham in Lancashire. His father, Edmund Chaderton, was in a good position, and an ardent supporter of the old faith. After a youth much addicted to country pursuits and field sports, Laurence conceived a taste for learning under the tuition of Laurence Vaux, then or afterwards incumbent of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, a strong Papist, who suffered considerable hardships as a 'recusant' in the reign of Elizabeth. At Christ's, however, which he entered in 1562, he acquired a decided bent in favour of Calvinism, much to the disgust of his father, who wrote to him:

'If you will renounce the new sect which you have joined, you may expect all the happiness which an indulgent father can secure you: otherwise I enclose a shilling in this letter to buy a wallet. Go and beg for your living.'

He appears to have been thus left with little or no support from home, though the threat of complete

disinheritance does not appear to have been carried out. He supported himself meanwhile by teaching, and at any rate he was able to take his B.A. degree in 1567. Next year he was elected a Fellow, and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln. In 1571 he took the M.A. degree, and in 1578 the B.D.; but he vacated his Fellowship in 1576, apparently by marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Nicholas Culverwell, Queen Elizabeth's merchant of wines. He was a good scholar in theology, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and had some knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian. He also lectured in logic. But he was best known as a divine and preacher. His sermons at St. Clement's were much admired for 'a style of singular purity, lucidity, and manliness; a voice very clear and pleasing and of wonderful flexibility, accompanied by a great dignity of manner and propriety of action.' He appears usually to have preached *ex tempore*, and in the preface to the sermon delivered at St. Paul's Cross, already quoted, he explains that in writing it down afterwards he could not be sure of giving the exact words; besides, he warns his readers that reading cannot be so profitable as hearing:

'For it was both the zeale of the speaker, the attention of the hearer, the promise of God to the ordinary preaching of his word, the mighty and inward working of his holy Spirit, and many other things which the Lord worketh most mercifully by the preaching of his glorious Gospel, which are not to be hoped for by reading the written sermons of his ministers.'

He sometimes, however, wrote his sermons, and his biographer, Dillingham, says that he had a goodly

volume of the MSS. They have not been preserved. The astonishing appetite for sermons at this time is illustrated by another anecdote preserved by Dillingham:

'Having once preached for two hours, he said that he had tired his hearers' patience and would leave off; upon which the whole congregation cried out: "For God's sake, sir, go on! we beg you, go on!" He accordingly continued the thread of his discourse for another hour, to the great pleasure and delight of his hearers.'

The only anecdote of his undergraduate days is that in one of the Town and Gown disturbances (in which he engaged with some vigour) he saved the life of Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and a great opponent of Puritanism, at the risk of losing his own right hand. He thereby laid the foundation of a lifelong friendship, which is said to account for the fact that Bancroft, though he harassed Puritans and Calvinists generally, was never harsh to Chaderton or to Emmanuel. As a Fellow of Christ's he was an active tutor, and had several eminent pupils, especially the celebrated divine William Perkins, author of at least forty treatises and controversial tracts. His position as a theologian, though distinctly Calvinistic, was moderate and tolerant. He felt great sympathy with the extreme party, who were aggrieved by certain ceremonies and doctrines of the Church, particularly in the matter of the surplice and cross in baptism, but he does not seem to have had scruples in these things himself; rather, he regarded them as matters indifferent, while he never separated himself from the discipline of the Church or the

authority of the law. The only controversy of a theological nature in which we know him to have been engaged was with the French divine Peter Baro, Lady Margaret Professor, in 1581, on the question which so much agitated the two parties—Arminian and Calvinist—that of justifying grace (Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 204). But in this he set a good example to the controversalists of the day by the gentleness of his manner and the moderation of his language.

Chaderton, therefore, was exactly the man whom Sir Walter would naturally select—a Calvinist, a preacher, accomplished in the three languages Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, a fairly learned theologian, in sympathy with the advanced school of Puritanism and yet content to stay in the Church and abide by the law, and, above all, a man of great firmness of character, and capable of impressing all that came in contact with him. That he commanded a wide confidence is shown by the rapidity with which the College filled, and the way it maintained its numbers throughout his mastership.

The College order book enables us to get some view of the manner in which the earlier society was employed, and the principles on which they endeavoured under his direction to form the corporate life. We must observe that the system of a single College Tutor had not then begun. Each undergraduate had a Tutor, but it might be any one of the Fellows, apparently at his choice. The disciplinary authorities were the Master and Dean, the latter being appointed year by year. The education was in the hands of Lecturers—a Head Lecturer, a Greek Lecturer, and a Lecturer in Logic—each of whom examined his own class, and could punish the youths

'when they offend.' For religious instruction there was a Catechist, who not only lectured in the chapel, but questioned the students publicly. Even then the question of compulsory Greek seems to have been started, for a special order (1598-1600) was needed to ordain that 'every Scholler under the degree of a Bachelour of Arte shall be bounde to be an auditour of the Greeke Lecturer, except it shall seem goode unto the Lecturer with the assent of the Master and his tutor to exempt any one particularly.' It also required a special order at the same time to give the Greek Lecturer the same authority in examining them, seeing exercises, and punishing defaults, as the Head Lecturer had 'concerning the morning lectures.' Questionists are to sit 'to be opposed' on January 13 and 14 in the parlour from 1 to 3 p.m. The books necessary for them to have read are 'Ramus' *Logick*, Aristotle's *Organon*, *Ethics*, *Politiques* and *Physiques*, and if they can or will they may read Phrigius his *Natural Philosophia*.'

No scholar for any cause, 'the stuards only excepted,' is to go into the kitchen, and everybody is to pay the steward for his commons in advance. Dinner was at 11 a.m., supper at 6. But the butler was to have the buttery open from 8 to 8.30 a.m.—to give, I suppose, the morning draught—again for a few minutes before 3 p.m., and lastly from 7 to 8 p.m. The College gates were shut at ten, and a bell was rung, after which it was an offence to be out. Not only was attendance at chapel required, but every undergraduate and Bachelor had to attend the prayers of his Tutor 'everie night at eight of the clock, so as everie Tutor may see him at that time and be

answerable for their good behaviour at that hower, agreeably to the peace and good name of the said Colledge.' Nor was this the only safeguard of discipline. The undergraduates were expected to be at work 'in the calling' at all times in the day except certain hours of recreation, viz., one hour after dinner and after supper—*i.e.*, 12 to 1 and 7 to 8 o'clock—'unless some publique exercise of learning or religion doe require their presence.' The superintendence of the several staircases also was divided among the Fellows 'to looke to all that goe up and downe his stairs to their lodging and to the latrine'; while two Fellows had the special duty of looking 'to disorders and all indecencies committed in the Chappel and in the hall at all tymes,' two more 'to disorders and ill-behaviour in the court and back sides,' and, lastly, two more 'to inquire of such as goe often out of the Colledge or tarry long forth or frequent houses in the town'; while Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Pickering and Mr. Cock were especially 'to endeavour to teach sound doctrine and confute error, at other times than only when they are bound by statutes of the University and of the College so to doe.'

A meeting of the society was to be held on the first Tuesday of every month to consider cases of discipline connected with the office of Dean or Lecturer. To secure that the doctrines taught in chapel were sound, the Fellows also agreed to meet at seven in the evening of any day in which there had been an 'exercise.' At this meeting anyone might express his dissent from anything that had been said, and the person whose doctrine was pronounced faulty was to be informed of it, but he was not to be informed of any individual's censure: the decision

was to be that of the whole body. That there was a danger of personal collision is shown by a later order (October 2, 1595)

'that no fellow nor Pensioner, upon anie cause or private occasion, shall either in sermon, commonplace, or probleme in the Chappell, use any speech or speeches which tend to the disgraceinge of any particular person, or noting private faults disgracefullie, which can have no sound spirituall use of edification, or at least not any good use without that ill. And besides our agreement we doe promise before God that we will never use [nor] intend to use any such in our exercises hereafter.'*

In spite of all these precautions for the good order and moral benefit of the undergraduates, there is not wanting evidence that youthful human nature was not crushed out by Puritan theology. Minor offences were no doubt punished by the Tutors. Graver ones subjected the culprit to being 'admonished' by the Master in the presence of the Dean, sometimes assisted by the Senior Fellow. Of these admonitions forty-four are recorded in the long mastership of Chaderton, an average of little more than one a year. A certain John Cook heads the black list, being 'admonished' on October 25, 1586,

'partly for disobedience to the Master and unreverent abusing of the Fellows by his stout and stubborne be-

* At first the public prayers seem to have been in the hall. There is a record of the first celebration of the Communion on May 26, 1588, when the attendants and absentees were:

Present.		*Absent.*	
Master and Fellows	11	For lack of knowledge	16
Fellow Commoners	6	For age	9
B.A.	4	For health	3
Pensioners and sizars	57	No reason	12

haviour, and partly for bending a stone bowe and charging it with a pellet with intent as he saith only to feare Henry Deane, whom also he abused with uncharitable words, and for other unsemely and unchristian behaviour.'

Next year a student is 'admonished' for 'abusing of his tongue in calling his fellow rakell and also for abusing of his hands in striking of him divers blowes, openly provoking him also to strike again by offering the first blow.' In the next year (1589) there are two admonitions for 'railing, striking, and fighting.' A Fellow-commoner in 1590 is admonished for 'slandering Mr. Richardson, Fellow and Lecturer of the College.' In the next year an undergraduate is admonished for 'disorderly conduct in Chapel, but specially for talking, and in the time of prayers, to the great disturbance of the whole company.' Others seem to have been given to field sports on 'Hogmagog hills contrary to the Master's commandment,' and apparently in spite of the owner's wish, one undergraduate being admonished for

'miscalling and rayling upon my Lord Rutland's man, as also for saying that my lord himself was but a chite and that he was maintained by Potthunters, and further for challenging my lord's man to meet him in what place he would apoynt.'

The offences get rather worse as time goes on. 'Striking with a knife,' 'drinking in a suspicious house in Barnwell,' 'being out after ten and coming over the wall,' 'lying out of College, being in an alehouse, and being in company with others who brake downe glasse windows,' 'drunkenness and spending 18^{d} in ale and other liquors,' 'being out of College after the gates were

locked and going about the streets, and for riding the horses in Mr. Wolfe's close and making them break out into the course,' 'being taken by the Proctor in a scandalous house,' 'drinking excessively after nine or ten in a chamber next to the street': these offences alternate with *insignis negligentia in divinis* or *in matutinis precibus*, and neglecting 'exercises' in the hall, or prayers, lectures, and 'acts' in the hall, in the years between 1600 and the end of Chaderton's mastership. They rather give the impression that discipline was getting somewhat relaxed, or perhaps that the undergraduates were being drawn from wider and more various strata of society. At any rate, they have a familiar ring, and link the generations together, if not with 'natural piety,' yet at least with natural sympathy.

In the internal management of the College on the ecclesiastical side there was from the first considerable variation from the customs of other Colleges, which must, at any rate, have been permitted by Chaderton.

'All other Colledges in Cambridge do strictly observe, according to the laws and ordinances of the Church of Englande, the form of public prayer prescribed in the Communion Booke. In Emm. Colledge they do follow a private course of public prayer, after their own fashion, both Sondaies, Holy daies, and workie daies' (Mullinger, p. 313, from Baker MSS., vi. 85, 86).

Again, at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604,

'Mr. Chaderton was told of sitting Communions in Emmanuel College; which hee said was so by reason of the seats so placed as they be; yet that they had some kneeling also' (Barlow, p. 105).

This state of things continued in the College, and in 1636 a strong report was sent to Laud:

'Their chapel is not consecrate. At surplice prayers they sing nothing but riming Psalms of their own appointment instead of ye Hymnes between the Lessons. And Lessons they read not after ye order appointed in ye Callendar, but after another continued course of their owne. All service is there done and performed (psalmes and hymnes and all if they read any) by the minister alone. The students are not brought up, nor accustomed to answere any verse at all. Before prayers begin the Boyes come in and sitt downe and put on and talke aloude of what they list. Their seates are placed round about and above the Communion Table. When they preach or commonplace they omit all service after ye first or second lesson at the furthest.'

How far these irregularities were from being contrary to the opinions of a large part of the country is shown by the steadiness with which the numbers kept up throughout Chaderton's mastership. As all students had to live within the College walls, there was naturally some variation. In the first two years, or rather year and a half, there were seventy-six admissions; in the next (1586), twenty; after that they vary from twenty-seven to forty-two till 1611, when they suddenly go up to fifty-eight, and from that year to the last of Chaderton's mastership there is a very high average, culminating in his last year (1622) in the largest entry of all—seventy-nine.

The personal influence of Chaderton seems to have defended the College from the frowns of royalty, so long, at any rate, as James I. was King. He came

to Cambridge in 1615 (March 7-10), accompanied by Prince Charles, and, among other things, visited Emmanuel.

'Someone,' says Dillingham, 'pointed out to him that the chapel was far out of the eastward position; whereupon Chaderton remarked to the King that he had been told that the same was true of the royal chapel at Whitehall. The King answered: "God will not turn away his face from the prayers of any holy and pious man, to whatever region of heaven he directs his eyes. So, doctor, I beg you to pray for me."'

If we may trust a verse of Corbet's poem on King James's visit, he was not spared a service in the chapel. After describing how the other Colleges were painted and adorned for the visit, he goes on:

> 'But the pure house of Emmanuel
> Would not be like proud Jezebel,
> Nor show herself before the King
> An hypocrite, or painted thing;
> But, that the ways might all prove fair,
> Conceiv'd a tedious mile of prayer.'

The title of 'Doctor' which the King gives Chaderton he had abstained from acquiring till two years before, though the founder had ordered that the Master should be a Doctor of Divinity. But on the visit of Prince Charles and his brother-in-law, Frederic, Count Palatine (the 'winter King'), on March 3-4, 1612, he consented to take the degree at the special commencement held in honour of the Princes, according to Dillingham, on the express wish of the King, conveyed by Prince Charles. On which occasion he is said to have

so charmed the august visitors by his conversation that Frederic could not refrain from taking his hand and leading him publicly through the University with every mark of respect. King James had also nominated him on the first Cambridge Committee for Revising the English Version of the Bible.

The men who formed the earliest society, no less than the first Master, seem to have answered the intention of the founder, both as to their pursuits in the University and in their subsequent careers as preachers. Of the three original Fellows — Charles Chadwick (from Christ's), William Jones and Laurence Pickering (from Clare)—the last-named seems to have taken the chief part in the government of the College, his name occurring as Dean at the foot of 'admonitions' at intervals up to 1589. His place was then taken by John Cock and John Richardson successively, who were two of the six Fellows elected within a year of the foundation. Charles Chadwick, one of the original three, was Dean in 1587. He was a member of an old Lancashire family (which may have caused him to be recommended by Chaderton), and he, with the other two, seems before long to have accepted Church preferment. Chadwick was Rector of Woodham Ferrers in Essex; Jones, of East Bergholt* (1591-1636); and Pickering—probably one of the Northamptonshire Pickerings, the head of which, Sir Gilbert Pickering, was afterwards a great Parliamentary leader—is vaguely said to have had a benefice 'in the West.' Of the six Fellows elected next after the three original members of the society, Nathaniel Gilbie was the son of one of the most violent of the early Puritans,

* The advowson of this living was acquired by the College in 1840.

Anthony Gilbie, who, after an exile at Frankfort and Geneva during Mary's reign, returned to England in that of Elizabeth, and became Vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Gilbie was Dean in 1592, and afterwards a preacher at Bedford. His most celebrated pupil was Joseph Hall. Of the other six, William Bright (from Christ's) became a preacher at Shrewsbury, John Grey (from Queens') in London. Of John Cock's career—Dean in 1590—we have no information; but two others, Branthwaite and Richardson, remained in Cambridge. Having been elected before the supplementary statute of 1587, they obtained dispensation from the necessity of vacating their Fellowships at the standing of D.D.* William Branthwaite (from Clare) proceeded Doctor of Divinity in 1598, was one of the Revisers of the Bible in 1607-1611, his special part being the Apocrypha. He was elected Master of Caius in 1607, and died as Vice-Chancellor in 1619. He founded two exhibitions at Emmanuel, and left £20 to the library and some plate to the College. John Richardson (also from Clare) graduated in 1581, and took his M.A. degree the year after his election at Emmanuel. In 1607 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, in 1609 Master of Peterhouse, and in 1615 Master of Trinity, though, according to Fuller, he only two months before had a somewhat curious encounter with James I. The King, among other things in his visit to Cambridge, was present at a special Act of Divinity in which Richardson as opposer argued in favour of the excom-

* Thus, the petitioners against the statute in 1627 allege that it had not 'taken any effect by forcing any to forsake their places at that time.' But see the case of Chadwick in the next chapter.

munication of Kings, instancing St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius.

'Upon which the King with some passion returned: "Profecto fuit hoc Ambrosio insolentissime factum!" To which Richardson rejoined: "Responsum verè regium et Alexandro dignum! hoc non est argumenta dissolvere sed dissecare." And so, sitting down, desisted from further dispute.'

On his death (April 20, 1625) he left all his folio and quarto books to Emmanuel. He was one of the earliest divines at Cambridge to support the Arminian doctrines as to predestination against those of Calvin, in which, probably, he was opposed to most of the members of his College.

Three other early members of the foundation may here be mentioned who were the immediate products of the life of the place as formed by these men. William Bedell was entered in the first year of the College (1584), was elected scholar in the same year, and a Fellow in 1593, having come from Essex, one of the two counties (the other being Northamptonshire) to which a preference was given by the founder. At the same election James Waddesworth was elected scholar, but, apparently from want of means, did not come into residence till the next year, when he obtained a sizarship. In the year of Waddesworth's B.A. degree (1589) Joseph Hall entered, and was elected a scholar in 1591, and Fellow in 1595. These three men (all remarkable in their way) had careers which thus began alike, but ended very differently. They must have been well acquainted. Bedell says, in his dedication of *Copies of*

Certain Letters, that he and Waddesworth were 'chosen scholars in the same election, lodged in the same chamber, and after ministers in the same Diocese.' Though they were friends, they had not all the same tastes in early life. Bedell stayed in the College till near the time of his Doctor's standing, acting as Catechetical Lecturer and Bursar. He was a hard student, and made himself well known for his mastery of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; and, though a firm Churchman and not averse to decent forms and ceremonies—for instance, in none of his churches did he ever allow the Communion-table to be brought down into the body of the church—was yet in general sympathy with the Calvinistic teaching of the majority of his contemporaries at Cambridge, and was much influenced by Chaderton, of whom he always speaks in his letters with reverence and affection.

Waddesworth, who remained a much shorter time in the College, and was instituted to the rectory of Pakefield in Suffolk in 1598, having doubtless been engaged in clerical work before, seems to have taken quite a different turn in theology. According to his son, he really became a Roman Catholic in 1604; but at any rate in the next year, on going to Spain as chaplain to Sir Charles Cornwallis, the Ambassador, he openly abjured the English Church, and became an officer in the Inquisition and English tutor to the Infanta, and died in Madrid in November, 1623. In a correspondence between him, Bedell, and Hall on this subject, whilst expressing warm affection for Bedell and gratitude for the charitable nature of his letters, he complains of the bitterness of Hall, 'whom I esteemed either my friend

or a modester man; whose flaunting epistle I have not answered, because I could not soil my hands with a poetical railer.' Hall, in fact, while he stayed in College, as he did till 1600, does not appear to have given his chief attention to theology. He was rather devoted to literature, especially to poetry, and above all to satire. The three books of *Toothless Satires* were published in 1597, and the three of *Biting Satires* in 1598. Other poems of his were produced about the same time. He indeed 'passed all his degrees with great applause' (Fuller), and gained credit also for the way in which he read the 'public rhetoric lecture'; but he did not take Orders till just before he left College, and it was not till a later period in his life that he began writing the controversial and devotional works for which he is best known. His last book of verse was a congratulatory volume on James I.'s accession—*The King's Prophecy, or Weeping Joy* (1603). He became Vicar of Halstead in Essex in 1601; Incumbent of Waltham, Essex, in 1608; was sent by James to the Synod of Dort (1619); and was offered various Church preferments by the King, ultimately becoming Bishop of Exeter (1627), and of Norwich (1641). From this last he was ejected in 1643, and died at Higham, September 8, 1656.

Bedell left the College in 1602 for St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds. In 1607 he went to Venice as chaplain to Sir Henry Wooton, returned to Bury in 1610, and in 1616 removed to the parish of Horningsheath. In 1626 he was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1629 Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. The latter he resigned, and remained Bishop of Kilmore

till his death, February 7, 1642, having suffered considerable hardship and a short imprisonment in the Irish Rebellion. In all these positions Bedell showed a sturdy honesty and a determination to resist oppression and correct abuses, which brought him into many controversies and even legal proceedings, as a country clergyman no less than as Provost of Trinity and Bishop. But his gentleness and purity of motive prevented these controversies, especially when they were on points of theology, from making him personal enemies, and a Roman Catholic priest was heard to exclaim over his grave, 'Oh sit anima mea cum Bedello!' He was not a prolific author. A poem on the *Powder Plot*, an *Examination of Certain Motives of Recusancy*, several Latin translations of the Italian works of Paolo Sarpi, *A Copie of Certain Letters that have passed between Spain and England*, with correspondence with Ward, Laud, and others, and a treatise *On the Efficiency of Grace* (both printed for the first time in 1903), make up almost all that has survived; though when he was in Venice he is said to have written an English Grammar, and to have promoted the translation of the English Prayer-Book into Italian, as in Ireland he pushed forward the translation of the Bible and Prayer-Book into Irish.

On the other hand, Hall was a voluminous writer. Controversial tracts (as those which brought on and continued the Smectymnuus quarrel), sermons, epistles, contemplations, paraphrases, every kind of devotional and expository work, fill up twelve goodly octavo volumes; and he had the distinction in the course of the Smectymnuus controversy of drawing upon himself a ferocious

attack by Milton in his *An Apology for Smectymnuus.* His own tone in controversy is moderate, except in the case of Roman Catholics.

Another Fellow of Emmanuel in these early days who was intimate with Bedell, and must also have known Hall well, was Samuel Ward, elected from Christ's in 1595. He remained in the College till 1599, when he became Fellow of Sidney, of which College he was afterwards Master from 1609 to 1643, having also been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (1622), and, like Hall, one of the delegates at Dort, while, like Chaderton, Richardson, and Branthwaite, he was one of the Revisers of the Bible of 1611. Bedell kept up an affectionate correspondence with him till the last year of his life, though he appears to have differed from him to some degree in the points of controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians. Although a strong and rather narrow Calvinist, he yet was a firm Churchman, and refusing to take the Covenant in 1643, was for a time imprisoned in St. John's, but presently returned to Sidney, where he died in September of that year. He had long been a leading man in University business.

This little group of men must have given a high intellectual tone to the new College, and have raised its reputation in the University. Yet for some reason the grace of the Senate (July 8, 1586) appointing what we should now call a syndicate to arrange the admission of Emmanuel College into the rota for appointing 'proctors, taxors, and scrutators,' did not have the proposed effect, and this privilege was only granted in 1650, by 'the Committee for the Reformation of the University' (Cooper, *Ann.*, ii. 424, iii. 434). The

reason of this delay is not known for certain, but it has generally been supposed to be in some way connected with the peculiarity in the ecclesiastical practices of the College. An equally probable reason may be the smallness of its endowment, which for some years may well have made its ultimate success appear doubtful. Its numbers indeed were large and constantly growing, but they were predominately of one party, not by any means pleasing to a large section of the University or the hierarchy. One striking proof of this is the number of Emmanuel men (some of them Fellows) who found their way eventually to New England, either to avoid prosecution for nonconformity or in search of more congenial surroundings. This forms one of the most striking features in the early history of the College, and deserves to be treated in some detail.

Among the first was John Cotton, elected Fellow about 1608, having been previously elected to a Fellowship at Trinity. He stayed long enough to be Catechist, Head Lecturer, and Dean. Becoming 'converted,' he disappointed his hearers at St. Mary's in the expectation which they had entertained of a brilliant and learned discourse, who

'discovered their vexation by their not *Humming*, as according to their sinful and absurd custom they had formerly done, and the Vice-Chancellor for the very same reason graced him not as he did others that pleased him.'

This plain sermon was the signal of a change of life, which brought much trouble upon him in his ministry at Boston, where he long had a kind of informal

divinity school, much frequented by intending ministers. Eventually, to avoid the tender mercies of the High Commission Court, he set sail for New England, which he reached after a seven weeks' voyage, landing at New Boston, September 3-4, 1633. There he remained till his death (December 23, 1652), having been long the leading divine in the colony and the founder of the Free Church.

Thomas Hooker, a Dixie Fellow (1607), also passed through a 'storm of soul' while Fellow and Catechist. He afterwards ministered at Chelmsford, where his nonconformity brought him into trouble similar to that of Cotton, being summoned before the Court of High Commission in 1630. Accordingly, after two years spent as a minister at Rotterdam and a brief return to England, he accompanied Cotton and Stone to New England in 1633. He was the Luther, says Mather, as Cotton was the Melancthon, of New England. He died July 7, 1647.

Another emigrant was Francis Higginson, who entered at Emmanuel in 1622, and afterwards had a church in Leicester, where, after some years of 'conformity,' he eventually lost his benefice by becoming a conscientious nonconformist. He continued, however, to preach for other beneficed clergy, Bishop Williams of Lincoln (1621-1641) apparently conniving at his so doing. But 'when the hour and power of darkness was come from Lambeth,' he joined a number of Puritan emigrants in 1629, invited by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. He arrived at Salem Harbour June 24 in that year, and with others set up a Reformed Church there, but died in August of the next year.

Thomas Shepherd (born November 5, 1605) was two years a pupil of Cockerel (who went to North Cadbury in 1622). At Emmanuel 'the ministry of Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Dickinson struck his heart.' He became a minister or 'lecturer' at Earls Coln in Essex. Being silenced by Laud, he became chaplain to Sir R. Darling in Yorkshire. But he had taken up the rôle of exorcist both in Essex and Yorkshire, and was quickly silenced by the Bishop of Durham (Moreton). He accordingly escaped, and in the autumn of 1634 took ship—on a leaky vessel called the *Defence*—and with some difficulty landed in New England on October 3, and was 'ordained' to the church at Cambridge. He was the author of many sermons, letters, and tracts, the title of one of which will show his point of view. It was printed in London in 1645, and is called *New England's Lamentations for Old England's Errors*. Another, called *The Sincere Convert*, 'caus'd much Trouble in Gracious Christians.' He died August 25, 1649.

Nathaniel Rogers, son of a famous Puritan minister of Dedham (1605-1630), entered Emmanuel as a sizar, May 9, 1614, and afterwards held several preferments in England. In 1636 (June 1) he sailed for New England, in order to avoid the ecclesiastical censures which he foresaw, and was 'ordained' pastor of Ipswich, Massachusetts (1638), where he died July 3, 1655.

Samuel Stone entered Emmanuel in 1620, and took his M.A. degree in 1630; he therefore was only two years under Chaderton. In the latter year he went as a 'lecturer' to Towchester, but, finding his nonconformity likely to bring trouble, he went to New England with Cotton and Hooker, where he arrived September 4,

1633. He preached first at Cambridge, and afterwards at a new settlement called Hartford, after his English birthplace, where he died July 20, 1663. He did not find complete peace in America, either, for a difference with a church elder led to a serious schism. By *A Discourse about the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church* it was 'thought by some that, as a *Stone* from the sling of David, he has mortally wounded that Goliath—*a national political Church.*'

Samuel Whiting, born November 20, 1597, was an intimate friend and 'chamber-mate' of Anthony Tuckney (Fellow 1619, Master 1645-1653). At College he was influenced by the teaching of his Tutor, Yates (Fellow 1607). He entered in 1613, and remained till his M.A. degree in 1620. He ministered first at Lynn, Norfolk; but being cited before the High Commission Court for nonconformity, at the instance of the Bishop of Norwich (Harsnett), in the year of the death of James I. (1624), he removed to Skirbich in Lincolnshire. After some years there, being again brought into trouble for nonconformity, he sold his property, and took ship in April, 1636, for Boston in New England, from which he went to Lynn, where he acted as minister till his death in 1659.*

Not only did Chaderton encourage the sort of men above described, and when possible secure them as Fellows: he took pains also to promote them elsewhere, when election was rendered impossible by the rule against having more than one Fellow from a single county. For instance, William Bradshaw, who remained in

* See list of Emmanuel men in New England at the end of the chapter.

College till his M.A. degree (1595), but, being of the same county as his contemporary, Joseph Hall—who was preferred to him—could not be a Fellow, was not only recommended by Chaderton to a tutorship in Guernsey and a lectureship at Chatham, but was by the same influence elected one of the first Fellows at Sidney. This, however, was nearly proving fatal to him, for he was all but drowned in Harston Millpool on his way from London to Cambridge. He experienced the usual difficulties of nonconforming divines, but he survived them all, and managed to write nearly thirty treatises or pamphlets in support of the Puritan position before his death at Chelsea in 1618. He was principally known as the supporter of the 'congregational' theory—the liberty of each congregation to regulate church-membership and ceremonies. Personally he was very attractive, and is described by his contemporary, Hall, as 'very strong and eager in argument, hearty in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliment, a lover of reality.'

That Chaderton, in spite of general conformity, was in hearty sympathy with the most advanced Puritans is also shown by the fact that his name is found among those who in 1586 declared their approbation of the *Book of Discipline*, originally printed in Latin at Geneva in 1574. It had since been revised and translated into English. This translation was printed by the Cambridge Press in 1584, with a preface by Cartwright, but was seized by order of Archbishop Whitgift, and the whole impression was burnt. It was not printed again till 1644, from a single copy found among Cartwright's books at his death (1603). But in spite of

these precautions its substance was still well known, and a declaration in its favour was signed in 1586 by more that 500 beneficed clergymen (Neal's *Puritans*, vol. i., pp. 301, 324, 816). In 1591 again Chaderton joined Good, Whitaker, and Barwell in petitioning the Lord Treasurer 'to be favourable to the true and peaceable preachers of the Gospel,' and in 1595 signed a letter to Cecil denouncing the doctrines of Baro as 'Popish,' though they were merely opposed to the extreme Calvinistic doctrines as to predestination (Neal, *Puritans*, vol. i., p. 389). In January, 1604, with Reynolds, Sparks, and Knewstubs, he was selected to represent the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference. The Puritan deputies were not thought to have shown much courage or address in that business. But Chaderton does not seem to have lost the confidence of his party. The College continued to increase, and to be filled as a rule with the sort of men for whom the founder had designed it. Sir Walter seems to have had special sympathy with the feelings which two years after the foundation of the College found expression in the Puritan petition to Parliament, complaining of the absence of learned ministers and such as were able to preach:

'Whereas the Scriptures say that ministers of the Gospel should be such as are able to teach sound doctrine and convince gainsayers, yet the bishops have made priests of the basest of the people, not only for their occupations and trades whence they have taken them, as *shoemakers, barbers, taylors, water-bearers, shepherds,* and *horse-keepers,* but also for their want of good learning and honesty.'

He had been the member of the Privy Council to whom complaints were naturally addressed by prosecuted

ministers, and there are several instances of his joining other members of the Council in attempting to shield them from episcopal severities. Chaderton, therefore, had so administered the new foundation as to train up the kind of ministers whose learning Sir Walter believed would prevent the difficulties produced by intemperate and uninstructed zeal, while it would spread and defend the more rational and fundamental truths of Calvinism.

It was not only ministers, however, or men of one view in politics and religion, that were produced by Chaderton. He seems not long after moving into College to have found the 'Master's lodgings' inconvenient, and he therefore purchased a house on the site of what had once been the Hostel of St. Nicolas, on the east side of Preachers' Street, between Emmanuel and Christ's. It was one of the many hostels which either disappeared on the rise of Colleges or were absorbed by them, and Fuller tells us that in its hall were given the first Greek lectures delivered in Cambridge. The College had acquired it in 1585, but in 1595 conveyed it to two persons who immediately afterwards conveyed it to Chaderton, who would not have been legally able to purchase it direct from the College.* He reconveyed

* This house was sold by Queens' College to Jo. Mere for £40, May 1, 1568; by him to R. Standish, LL.D., for £43, July 31, 1549; by him to Adrian Scroop and Simon Watson for £70, November 6, 1558, who alienated it again to Emmanuel College for £150, March 27, 1585 (of which sum Sir T. Kellegrew gave £140). The College again sold it to Nicole and Bradshawe for £200, December 2, 1595, who conveyed it to Dr. Chaderton on the 11th of the same month, and he gave it back to the College by deed March 31, 1603.

it to the College in 1603, but seems to have treated it all along as a kind of *dependence* of Emmanuel, in which there were chambers for students. His biographer says that the two brothers Rich were there. The elder, Robert, was afterwards the Earl of Warwick who took a prominent part in the Civil War on the Parliamentary side. He seems to have been consistent throughout.* But the younger brother was the splendid but unfortunate Earl of Holland, whose tortuous policy lost him the favour of the King, and brought him to the block at the hands of the Parliament. Both brothers entered in 1603, and both took an active part in American colonization, while Holland was also for some years Chancellor of the University. In the same house was also John Finch, afterwards Lord Finch of Fordwich and Lord Keeper, who entered in 1596. He was the Speaker forcibly held down in his chair on a memorable occasion, who as a judge also took a leading part in the trial of Hampden and in declaring the legality of ship-money, and only escaped impeachment by the Long Parliament by flight to Holland. He died in 1660 without an heir. Thus the College could count among its sons men who took part on both sides of the great political controversy of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, the prevailing tone of the place was throughout Chaderton's mastership distinctly that of advanced Puritanism. It was, in fact, too much so for the Fellows existing in 1622, who thought that they were thereby under the frown of the Court. This was particularly distasteful to them, because their object at this time was to be relieved from two disadvantages

* His son, Lord Rich, entered the College in 1626.

under which they lay by the statutes—the obligation of residence, and the necessity of vacating their Fellowships when at the standing for D.D., whether they had obtained preferment or not. Their only hope of getting rid of these obligations was by royal injunction. Chaderton, however, was always resolutely opposed to this relief, asserting that it was of the very essence of the plan and purpose of the founder that men should not reside permanently in College, but should go into the service of the Church through the country. But even if he had thought otherwise, the Fellows believed that his ecclesiastical views would not help them with the Court, and that he had outlived such influence as he once possessed. The need of more Court favour, and of something to counteract their character for 'singularity,' is believed to have been impressed on the minds of the Fellows during the King's visit of 1615. They now thought that in JOHN PRESTON, of Queens', they had a man who, while enjoying the confidence of the Puritans, and having an orthodox belief in Calvinism, yet had that influence in high quarters which they desired. Distantly connected by marriage with Buckingham, who desired to conciliate the Puritan party, he had by the Duke's influence been named chaplain to Prince Charles in 1620, and in February, 1622, had been appointed Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. As Tutor of Queens' he had filled the College, and whenever he preached there was a crowded audience; and though his sermons had on more than one occasion brought him into some trouble, his 'politic' character had saved him from any bad effects. The intrigue in his favour was conducted with great secrecy, if, indeed, there was an intrigue. Dilling-

ham, the biographer of Chaderton, represents his resignation as spontaneous, and as prompted by his consciousness of failing powers and health, as he was now eighty-seven. But as he lived till November, 1640, and almost the whole time in vigorous health, this does not seem a sufficient cause. Nor was it expected. Bedell, writing from Bury on November 25, 1622, says:

'The news of Dr. Chaderton's resigning and the election of Mr. Preston to the Mastership of Emmanuel was altogether unexpected in these parts: whereof I doubt not there were secret motives and perhaps conditions more than the world knowes of.'

The whole affair, in fact, had been conducted with unusual secrecy. Chaderton resigned on September 25, and as all the existing Fellows (11) were in residence, it was decided that it was unnecessary to put upon the chapel door the statutory notice of the vacancy. On October 2 Preston was elected, the College doors being locked whilst the election took place.* One motive for

* Heywood and Wright (*Transactions*, vol. ii., p. 312) print a letter from Mede to Sir M. Stutville:

'Christ's College,
'*October* 5, 1622.

'On Wednesday last, in the forenoon, Mr. Preston was chosen Master of Emmanuel, it being the seventh day after the *vacatio agnita*, by the resignation of the old Doctor. Yet so secretly did they carry their business that not any of the town—no, nor any scholars of their own College—did so much as suspect any vacation or election till all was done and finished. Dr. Travers himself, whom some might suppose likely to hear of such a matter, heard not the least jot till all was past, notwithstanding all the acquaintances and relations he left behind him. . . . You will perhaps, as some others, wonder how this business could be kept close, since the *vacatio* was to be published by a schedule set up till the election; but this circumstance is requisite only if any of the Fellows be

this secrecy was said to be the fear of a royal mandate to elect Dr. Travers, who, since his Fellowship had lapsed, had been living at Christ's College, and whom for some reason the Fellows did not wish to have. But in spite of Dillingham's assertion, there seems no doubt that great pressure was put upon Chaderton to resign; that he did it with reluctance, against the wish of his friends and wife (who lived till 1631); and without having any large private resources to fall back upon. This last difficulty was got over, according to Ball, by a letter to Chaderton from the Duke of Buckingham (September 20, 1622), in which, after assuring him that the King approved of Preston as his successor, he adds: 'And for that point of supply of maintenance I shall (as I promised) take care for to procure it, when fit occasion shall be offered.' It does not appear, however, that Chaderton ever received a pension, though Cecil offered him the bishopric of Chester, and perhaps other preferments. But he preferred a retired life, devoted to reading and study, varied by planting, grafting, and other botanical experiments, in which he took much delight. Indeed, Dillingham asserts that, though Preston may possibly have obtained Buckingham's letter, Chaderton never received it, and that 'no promise was made in it about any allowance being made for Chaderton's support, no assurance given, expected or asked for, nay, not so much as known of by the venerable man.' But, as Mr. Mullinger observes (p. 570), 'it

absent, thereby to signify the vacation to them,—to prevent which they made choice of a time when all the Fellows were at home, to call them together, and make known the resignation to all present at once.'

seems difficult to suppose that either Preston or his biographer could have concocted such a letter,' and it appears likely that the offer of the bishopric and other preferments, of which Dillingham speaks, was practically a fulfilment of the promise. When they were declined, the Court no doubt felt no farther obligation, and Chaderton spent the remaining eighteen years of his life in retirement, though he seems always to have taken an active interest in the affairs of the College, especially in the management of its estates. He died on November 13, 1640, and was buried in the old chapel, from which his body was afterwards transferred to the new chapel.

The end of his mastership is a natural close of the first chapter in the College history. With his disappearance a change in its atmosphere soon began to make itself evident.

Professor Franklyn B. Dexter, of Yale, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society (February, 1880) on 'The influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England,' enumerates those who came from Oxford and Cambridge. The largest contingent (21) is furnished by Emmanuel.

	Year of Entry in College.
William Blaxton, M.A.	1614
Zachariah Symmes, M.A.	1617
John Cotton, B.D., Fellow	1617
Daniel Maude, M.A....	1603
William Leverish, M.A.	1622
Nathaniel Ward, M.A.	1596

	Year of Entry in College.
Thomas Hooker, M.A., Fellow ...	1596
Simon Broadstreet, M.A.	1617
Thomas James, M.A.	1611
William Walton, M.A.	1617
Nathaniel Rogers, M.A.	1614
Thomas Shepherd, M.A.	1619
John Ward, M.A.	1596
R. Sultinstall	1627
John Harvard, M.A.	1628
E. Brown (?)	1628
Samuel Stone, M.A.	1620
T. Waterhouse, B.A.	1622
J. Oxenbridge	1626
Giles Firmin	1629
John Sherman	1639

On August 25, 1904, a brass tablet to be placed in the chapel, which had been subscribed for at Harvard, Cambridge, U.S.A., was presented by representatives from that University. It bears the following inscription:

VERITAS | CHRISTO ET ECCLESIÆ | IN MEMORY OF | JOHN HARVARD A.M. | A MEMBER OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE | WHO EMIGRATED TO | MASSACHUSETTS BAY | AND THERE DYING | IN 1638 | BEQUEATHED TO A COLLEGE | NEWLY ESTABLISHED | BY THE GENERAL COURT | HIS LIBRARY | AND ONE HALF OF HIS ESTATE | WHEREFORE | HIS NAME IS BORNE BY | HARVARD COLLEGE | THAT ELDEST | OF THE SEMINARIES | WHICH ADVANCE LEARNING | AND PERPETUATE IT | TO POSTERITY | THROUGHOUT AMERICA | THIS TABLET ERECTED BY HARVARD | MEN RECORDS THEIR GRATITUDE TO | THEIR FOUNDER IN THE COLLEGE WHICH | FOSTERED HIS BENEFICENT SPIRIT |

CHAPTER IV

THE MASTERSHIPS OF JOHN PRESTON (1622-1628) AND WILLIAM SANDCROFT (1628-1637)

The mastership of John Preston does not appear to have answered the expectation of the Fellows. The obligation of continual residence, which prevented them from making provision for their future by chaplaincies or tutorships, was not relaxed; nor was anything done to relieve them from the effects of the *de mora* statute, so as to allow them to keep their Fellowships until presented to a College living. Nor in other ways did he make his mark in the College. Ball, who admires him greatly, can find nothing to record of his administration except that

'he observed that the Scholars kept Acts but seldome, and accordingly when they came into it performed it but meanly; he therefore advised with the fellows in it, and after many consultations it was resolved that the number of Acts should in a manner be doubled, of those under Masters of Arts, which was a great advancement to learning of all sorts in the Colledge.'

But, as a matter of fact, Preston seems to have been much absent from the College under various pretexts—duty at Court, as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and on the

plea of being wanted in London to watch over the interests of the society, which was engaged in a lawsuit with a Mr. Ewins for the advowson of a living. The writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that this last employment was interpreted as being a *violenta detentio* within the meaning of the statute *De residentia magistri* (cap. 2). The interpretation as recorded in the order-book, however, says nothing of this business, but rests solely on 'the service of the King and Prince.' It will be well to give this order as it appears in the original with autograph signatures, especially as it is one of the only two College orders signed by Preston:

'*Anno Domini* 1623, *Martii* 11°.

'Whereas in the statute Cap. 2 de Residentia Magistri, there is this clause—nisi violenta detentione impeditus fuerit. Our Master before his admission Octob. 3, 1622, and before he took his oath, desired an interpretation of these words: all the fellows (being eleven in number) did with one consent and assent make this interpretation, that they were to be understood as well of a morall as a natural violence, and that the service of the Kinge and Prince (to whom he was then a sworne servant) was to be esteemed as a morall violence. This eight of us (who are all that are nowe left in the Colledge of those eleven) do witness and testify under our hands.

John Stoughton.
Jo. Dod.
Johes Gamons.
Sa. Hildersham.
J. Yates.
Ric. Hunt.
Tho. Hanscombe.
Na. Fowle.

'The same interpretation we all who are now actuall master and fellowes doe renew and confirme under our hands.

John Preston.
John Stoughton.
John Dod.
John Gamons.
Sa. Hildersham.
J. Yates.
Richard Hunt.
Tho. Hanscombe.
Na. Fowle.
Anth. Tuckney.
Walter Foster.'

Preston, being thus authorized to be absent beyond the statutable time, seems to have taken full advantage of the privilege. Only four 'admonitions' are signed by him—one undated, and three on the same day (May 24, 1627), all for the same offence: 'notorious negligence at prayers in the Chapel.' Only one College order, besides the above, is signed by him—namely, one of August 15, 1625, for the breaking up of the College till October 17, upon 'the contagion which is at this time in the parish and the fear of the increase thereof.' Business as to the College estates he seems often to have committed to Chaderton, who was, it appears, still living in his house at St. Nicolas' Hostel as tenant of the College. He cared most for preaching, and obtained, after a severe contest, a lectureship at Trinity Church, worth £50—collected, it seems, by six-penny contributions among the congregation—which, as having no 'cure of souls,' he could hold with the

mastership. But he was also much with the Court, and his high favour with Buckingham gave the Puritan party hopes of better treatment at the hands of the King, while the 'prelatical' party hoped to win him by the offer of bishoprics or other preferment. His importance was believed to be still greater as James neared his end, because it was evident that under the new reign Buckingham would be all-powerful. Preston was at Theobalds when the King died (March 27, 1625), and went to London with Charles for his proclamation. There he maintained for some time his hold on Buckingham, who is said to have even proposed him to the King as Lord Keeper, of which office Bishop Williams was now deprived. Sir Thomas Coventry, however, was appointed, who had acted as counsel for the College in their lawsuit, and now determined it in their favour. This much good the College might in part attribute to the influence of their Master. It soon became apparent, however, that his power over Buckingham was melting away. The Duke disappointed the hopes of the Puritans, and began giving plain indications of sympathy with the 'prelatists,' greatly, no doubt, under the influence of King Charles. Preston accordingly lost faith in him, and was incautious enough to express this feeling in a letter 'to a gentleman of Northampton,' which letter by some accident was dropped by its bearer near Temple Bar, and its contents made known to the Duke, who soon made it manifest that Preston was no longer in his good graces. The Fellows therefore—or a majority of them—determined to act for themselves, and petition the Crown directly for a dispensation from the statute.

An attempt had been already made in 1595, when Charles Chadwick, the Senior Fellow, claimed to hold his Fellowship on the ground that the supplementary statute was not of equal validity with the rest. The question was referred to the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Goade), and was formally tried by him, with John Cowel, LL.D., acting as assessor, on November 21. His decision, drawn up by John Smith, public notary, is extant. It was decisively in favour of the statute. Chadwick appears at the time to have retaliated upon Chaderton by asserting that he had forfeited the mastership by not taking his Doctor's degree. But that point, too, was given in Chaderton's favour on the production of a written dispensation from Mildmay. This decree of the Vice-Chancellor settled the matter. Chadwick was obliged to vacate his Fellowship and to seek Church preferment, which he obtained at Woodham Ferrers in Essex, and, however discontented, the Fellows made no more attempt to get the statute altered or more favourably interpreted till 1627, when the following petition was sent up to the King:

'To the King's most excellent Majesty.

'The Humble petition of the Fellowes of Emmanuel College in Cambridge shewith

'That whereas our last supposed statute of leaving our places at Doctor's time, or within a yeare after, if we take our degree, hath been and is a grievance to our societie, the validitie of which Statute may justlie be questioned, as being neither sealed, nor having witnesses, nor being delivered as the rest of the statutes were, nor yet having taken effect by forcing any to forsake their places at that time: Or, in case it should be graunted to

be a statute, being very hard, we being thereby exposed to many and great inconveniences, as being destitute of other meanes when we shall be soe cast out, and hindered for the present approveing our service to any, by reason of our continuance strictly required by statute, and whereas no inconvenience is like to redound either to the government or estate of the Colledge by libertye of continuance, as appeareth by all other Colledges where they have the like priviledge, and more particularlye in Sidney Sussex Colledge, where the like statute hath been abrogated.

'That your Majestye would bee pleased to graunte a reference of this our grievance to the Heads of Colledges, or to such of them as your Majesty should be pleased to assign, to consider whether or noe it bee a statute of equal validitie with the other; and if soe, whether a qualification bee not requisite for grauntinge libertie to us to enjoy our places, till wee can bee competently provided for; and according as in duty bounde wee ever pray for your Majestye's long, happy, and prosperous reign.'

A reference to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads was at once granted. Opposition came from two quarters: first from Sir Henry Mildmay, the founder's grandson, and secondly from Chaderton. The former offered as a compromise to secure to the College the advowson of six livings of not less than £100 a year value, in order to provide for such Fellows as were thus compelled to vacate. Chaderton wrote a strong paper, dated April 14, 1627, of reasons against the charge to be submitted to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. His objections were grounded on the violation proposed to be done to the wishes of the dead; on the discouragement thus offered to future founders and benefactors; on the fact that

the College already had enough livings for the vacating Fellows; on the fact that succession to Fellowships was thus more rapid and the number of learned ministers sent out larger, while 'the unprofitable stay of men in College was prevented'; on the fact that in other Colleges the tenure of Fellowships was limited; and, lastly, that the founder had declared that 'he would rather not have founded the College than have omitted this statute.'

The Vice-Chancellor and Heads at first drew up an answer in the sense of Chaderton's protest, strongly advising against the abrogation of the statute. But on farther consideration—perhaps on a hint from Buckingham—they sent up a more guarded answer, affirming, indeed, the validity of the statute, but at the same time suggesting that the change in the circumstances of the times might make its suspension advisable. The whole business was rapidly concluded. Chaderton's protest is dated April 14, and on May 5 a dispensation was issued from the Court at Westminster. It is grounded on the report of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads:

'You after due examination of the business have under your hands and seals given us to understand that concerning the validity of the statute you are fully persuaded of the strength thereof, but as touching the convenience of the said statute, however the same was providently ordeyned at the time, when there was scarcity of sufficient preachers to furnish the Church abroad, yet because that reason now ceaseth and the Church is now replenished with many able men, you conceive a qualification neither prejudicial to the estate of the Church in generall nor the government of this particular society.'

The King then goes on to ordain that the statute be wholly suspended, giving five reasons: (1) Because those who have taken Holy Orders (which calling they may never forsake or exchange) are compelled either, instead of being labourers, to stand idle in the vineyard, or, as 'lecturers,' to seek their livelihood from the benevolence and favour of the people; (2) because to the great disparagement of their persons and degrees they are compelled to become curates and mercenaries under others; (3) because the statute enforcing residence prevents them, like other clergymen, from securing their positions by services abroad; (4) because other Colleges allow their clerical Fellows to remain till they get a living, and a far less strict statute in Sidney Sussex (allowing seven years' residence after Doctor's standing) had been rescinded; (5) because even in Emmanuel dispensations had been already obtained, particularly by Dr. Branthwaite. Towards the end of the royal injunction, however, a proviso is made that, if Sir H. Mildmay fulfilled his promise of giving the College five or six advowsons worth a hundred a year within six years of the date of the dispensation, the dispensation is to be revoked.

On December 22, 1640, a committee was appointed to investigate the abuses of the University, and in virtue of their report the King's dispensation was revoked on March 22, 1641. This declaration of the Parliament was, however, either declared or regarded as invalid at the Restoration. The dispensation of 1627, therefore, after 1660, again ruled the tenure of Fellowships of those in Orders, while laymen vacated theirs when they came to be one of the four seniors,

according to the statute of the founder. Practically, however, men henceforth held their Fellowships till they got a College living. This state of things was recognised by the Commissioners (1856-1861). In the statutes confirmed by the Queen in Council on June 26 of the latter year, four Fellows had to be in Orders; but if there were no Fellows willing to take Orders elections were to be made outside. Clergymen, if unmarried, could hold their Fellowships without limit; a layman vacated his at the end of ten years, unless he held a professorship or certain College offices. The farther alterations made by the Commission of 1877-1882 will be noticed later on.

According to his biographer, Preston was vehemently opposed to the relaxation of the statute in 1627, and he certainly seems to have been on bad terms with some of the Fellows. But he was now little more in the College, for his health was rapidly failing. He moved from place to place, hoping to be cured by country air. The winter of 1627-28 seems to have been spent in a house on high ground at Linton, from which he came to preach at Cambridge on Sundays. In the spring he went to London, after having vainly consulted Dr. Despontine, the Italian doctor settled by Bedell at Bury. By the advice of the London doctors he stayed awhile at Newington, whence he removed to Hertfordshire, and thence to his native county of Northamptonshire, to the house of Mr. Dod, the clergyman of Preston. Here he was, it appears, mistakenly treated by an Oxford doctor (Ashworth), and succumbed on July 20, 1628, when not quite forty years old. He had been a good deal away from the College, especially in 1625, when there was an alarm of plague. But at the beginning of his master-

ship he seemed likely to be much more away still, for he was appointed to go as chaplain to Sir Arthur Chichester into Germany; and a royal mandate was obtained, dated July 15, 1623, for his Doctor's degree, that he might have a dignity suitable for the office (Heywood and Wright, ii. 316). The embassy, however, did not take place, but in preparation for his journey he made the will that was proved after his death. The executor and residuary legatee was William, Lord Saye and Seal, and though there is no mention in it of a legacy to Emmanuel College, Preston appears from a letter of Lord Saye and Seal, which has been preserved, to have directed him to 'bestow the interest of £200 upon Scolards that were bred upp in the Colledge (Emmanuel).' Lord Saye and Seal appears after some years to have suspended this payment when 'these unhappy times of trouble came.' At the Restoration, however, he proposed to renew the payment, and to add to it £40 in view of unpaid interest. In his will (he died in 1662) he directed his heir to invest the money in land 'of inheritance to the same, either to the said James or to the Head, President and Fellows of the said Colledge, their successors and assigns, at the discretion of my said sonne James.' It was not till 1668 that the instructions of the will were carried out. A letter on this subject to Breton, Master of Emmanuel, is dated May 8, 1668:

'Dr. Brittaine,

'Mr. Henry Lodge, who was formally recommended to y^r^ Colledge, and to whom I gave that annual allowance of twelve pounds given by Dr. Preston, is lately dead. I

shall therefore desire you to receive a brother of his, Mr. Sidney Lodge, into his place, and accordingly I shall pay to him the same stipend for his maintenance. S^r^, I have signed and sealed that deed for the use of y^r^ Colledge, and it is left either with Mr. Nelson or Mr. Finshaw, whom you know; both their chambers are in Grayes Inne.

'S^r^, I am,

'Y^r^ friend,

'SAY AND SEAL.'

The deed here mentioned is extant, and secures to the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Emmanuel College an 'Annuity or Rent Charge of £12, issuing out of three parcells of Meadow Ground in the Parish of Drayton in Oxfordshire.' This rent-charge was paid regularly for some time, but the land changed hands several times, and it began to fall into arrear. In 1720 the College unsuccessfully sued the then Lord Saye and Seal, and from that time it disappears from the College accounts (*Emmanuel College Magazine*, vol. vi., No. 2, pp. 90-95).

The College, therefore, did not permanently benefit by Preston's liberality. In other respects, though not, apparently, from much personal superintendence, it continued to flourish under his rule. The numbers did not decline. In two of the six years they were above the average (82 and 89), and among the entries are some interesting names, four of them of men who were afterwards Masters of other Colleges—W. Spurstowe, of St. Catherine's; Lazarus Seaman, of St. Peter's; William Dell, of Caius; Benjamin Whichcote, of King's.

WILLIAM SPURSTOWE took his degrees at Emmanuel (B.A. 1626, M.A. 1630), but was elected a Fellow of

Catharine Hall. He resigned that on becoming Rector of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire. He was one of the five divines whose initials helped to make up the name Smectymnuus (uu[=w]+s). He was fully in sympathy with the Parliament in its quarrel with the King, and served as chaplain to Hampden's Green Coats in 1642. He took the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, and in 1645 was put into the mastership of Catharine Hall, on the deprivation of Ralph Browning by the University Commissioners of the Parliament. But though his sermons and writings were all of the strictly Puritan cast, his after-life is an example of the revulsion against extremes in politics and Church government which caused the anti-Puritan reaction.

In 1649 a subscription to 'the Engagement' was required by the Parliamentary Committee—that is, a declaration of allegiance to the existing government 'without King or House of Lords.' Spurstowe, who had been employed in negotiations with Charles, and strongly objected to his trial, was one of those Masters who declined to make the declaration, and *ipso facto* vacated their places on March 23, 1650 (Heywood and Wright, ii., 530). At the Restoration, again, he was made a chaplain to Charles II., and preached once at Court, yet he was not prepared to conform to the Act of Uniformity, and accordingly vacated his vicarage of Hackney on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1662).

Lazarus Seaman (B.A. 1627, M.A. 1631), after teaching for a time in a school, was chosen lecturer at St. Martin's, Ludgate, and was chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland, and in 1642 was presented to All Hallows', Broad Street. Like Spurstowe, he was one of

the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and one of the Presbyterians deputed to treat with Charles. In 1644 he was put into the mastership of Peterhouse. At the Restoration he was turned out of the mastership, but retained All Hallows' till the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He was a Presbyterian, strongly opposed to 'separate congregations,' and had also been against the King's trial. Yet Cromwell respected him, and appointed him a Visitor of the University in 1654. After his resignation of All Hallows' he acted privately as minister to a portion of his old congregation, and in 1672 built a chapel in Wood Street. He was a man of much learning, and his collection of 5,000 books was the first library sold by auction in England (1675). That, and his prudence and caution, joined to considerable controversial ability, mark him out as a typical product of the College.

William Dell (B.A. 1628, M.A. 1631) was secretary to Archbishop Laud, but in 1645, having become an Antinomian, he was with Fairfax as a 'preacher of the army.' He seems to have tried to establish a kind of unity by refusing to recognise all distinction of sects, but did not succeed in pleasing any party, except, perhaps, the leaders of the Independents. He is said to have offered his religious services to Charles on the morning of his execution. On May 5, 1650, he was appointed Master of Caius in the place of the ejected Dr. Batchcroft. He was very severe in this office in displacing Royalist Fellows, and denouncing not only official University dress and ornaments, but the value of learning generally to the study of Scripture. He held with the mastership the living of Yelden in Bedford-

shire. From the former he was ejected in 1660 (Batchcroft being reinstated), and from the latter in 1662 by the Bartholomew Act. His writing and doctrines, though enjoying a certain notoriety, appear not to have pleased any sect except the Quakers; and he was accused of inconsistency in preaching against infant baptism, and yet having his own children baptized; against tithes, and yet taking £200 a year from Yelden; against Universities, and yet being Head of a College. Yet he carried out one of his doctrines by securing that his body should be buried in unconsecrated ground. He probably would have justified himself on all these heads, but his teaching would not have been in harmony with the views current in his old College.

Of Benjamin Whichcote, who entered in the later years of Preston's mastership, I shall speak hereafter.

Besides these divines, there entered in 1624 Henry Pierrepont, first Marquis of Dorchester, and his brother William. They were the sons of the Earl of Kingston, and Henry (born 1606) was called up to the House of Lords as Viscount Newark in 1641, and for services to the King was created Marquis of Dorchester in 1645. After the war was over, he compounded for delinquency by a fine of one-tenth of his estate, and afterwards devoted himself to science, especially to medicine and law, being entered at Gray's Inn, and also becoming a Fellow of the College of Physicians. At the Restoration he returned to Court, and became a Privy Councillor again. He seems to have been a quarrelsome person, but really devoted to science. His brother William, who entered Emmanuel with him, took the Parlia-

mentary side in the war, but was generally in favour of peace and of making terms with the King. He, however, justified his title of 'Wise William' by keeping all through on good terms with Cromwell, by giving Richard Cromwell excellent counsel, and yet on the Restoration being able to secure, not only his own safety, but that of many others also. He died in 1678.

In the last year of Preston's mastership JOHN HARVARD entered the College (April 17, 1627) with Middlesex as his county (p. 57). It is curious and touching that the name of a man who won no distinction in life, and died at thirty-one of consumption so far from us, should yet constitute one of our most enduring and most valued memorials:

> 'That low man seeks a little thing to do,
> Sees it and does it:
> This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
> Dies ere he knows it.'

John Harvard saw what he had to do and did it, and it turned out to be a greater thing than he could have dreamed. Leaving England, we do not know why—perhaps in hope of escaping the deadly disease which was in his blood (for his brother Thomas died the year he sailed)—he, with his lately-married wife, reached New England, and was admitted a townsman of Charlestown on August 6 in 1637. On September 14 in the next year (1638) he died of consumption, leaving one half of his estate (£779 17s. 2d.), with a library of 320 volumes, for the College which at that time it was proposed to found at New Town (Cambridge). Em-

manuel has no record of him except his name in a book of receipts, and his autograph in a small volume of divinity in the College library—

> 'Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

Little as he ever thought it, his name endures for ever in the great University of the West, the beginning of which was made possible by his liberality and faith.

He had inherited a fair property from his mother, Katherine Rogers, who married three times—her first husband, Robert Harvard, a butcher of Southwark, having died of the plague in 1625. She appears to have died in 1635, the year in which Harvard took his M.A. degree. In Charlestown he ministered in the 'First Church,' where, it is said, he 'preached and prayed with tears and evidence of strong affection.' He is described by another contemporary as 'a scholar and a lover of learning,' and by another as 'a scholar and pious in his life, and enlarged toward the country and the good of it in life and death.' There is no record of his having been ordained, but, as he seems to have been at once received as a clergyman on arriving in New England, he had probably been authorized as a preacher in some way before leaving home; and as he married the daughter of a beneficed clergyman, he had very likely received episcopal Orders.

The next Master, William Sandcroft (1628-1637), entered the College in 1596, and was elected Fellow in 1605. He was of a Suffolk family, and at the end of his life had some cure or house at Bury. His Fellowship lapsed in 1614-15, and Chaderton wrote warmly in

his favour to the patron of West Wickam in Kent (Samuel Lennard). On his election to the mastership in 1628, he was holding this or some other benefice, for before he would accept the mastership he insisted on the Fellows making an interpretation of the thirteenth statute which would enable him to continue to hold it. Accordingly, an order on the subject appears in the order-book under date August 5, 1628. After reciting the founder's statute, it goes on:

'Notwithstanding wee are persuaded that it was neyther his meaning to forbid the choyce of a beneficed man nor his retayning of the said cure for a convenient time, which we conceive to be about but not above that time which the fellowes are allowed to enjoy their places after they have induction into a liveing. This we all agreed upon before the admission of the present Master. August 5, 1628, anno regni Regis Caroli quarto.'

This is signed by all twelve Fellows, of whom Anthony Tuckney—himself afterwards Master—is one. It does not appear, however, that Sandcroft, in compliance with this interpretation, either resigned his benefice or refused any new one. His nine years of mastership was a period of continuous prosperity as far as numbers were concerned; it also witnessed a great increase in the buildings by the commencement of what is now called the 'old court,' the call for which is attributed, in the College order of February 4, 1633, to the necessity

'of enlarging our roome, which long time hathe been and still is too scant to receive the number of students in the Colledge, and for bringing of them all to keepe and lodge within the walls (according to the express words of the

From a photograph by | | *J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE OLD COURT, LOOKING WEST UPON THE SOUTH GARDEN

statute, cap. 40, Nullum pro pensonario ad convictum scholarium aut sociorum admitti vel in Collegio morari volumus qui non cameram habeat uti in dicto Collegio cubet). It was thought fitt by the Master and the Society, and accordingly agreed and concluded by joynt and unanimous consent of the major part, to have a new range of building erected from the founder's chamber to Pit's garden according to a plott drawne and covenants made to that purpose.'

He also seems to have begun by reforming certain irregularities in the entering of scholars' names and counties in the College register, and the habit of some scholars getting their food and drink from the town instead of the College butteries. Discipline would also seem, from the admonition-book, to have been well maintained. But, on the other hand, he seems to have had somewhat violent quarrels with the Fellows. To begin with, he headed a moiety of the Fellows (six) in petitioning the Chancellor to obtain the revocation of the royal dispensation from the *de mora* statute. The Chancellor was now an Emmanuel man, Lord Holland, who had by the King's injunction succeeded Buckingham (murdered in 1628), and they may have thought him likely—' as the noble ornament of our College '—to support the wishes of the majority. The petition, however, was unsuccessful, but its last clause indicates a considerable tension: ' Ninthly, the statute standing in its former force would have prevented no small disturbances of the peace of the College which have lately happened.' That these ' disturbances of the peace of the College ' continued, and sometimes in an acute form, is shown by the admonition-book, in which

for the first two occasions a peremptory admonition is administered to one of the Fellows, Henry Salmon, afterwards Rector of Standground, for countermanding orders of the Master. The matter seems to have gone before the Vice-Chancellor, whereupon Salmon made some apology; for the admonition is crossed out, and Sandcroft adds a note that he is content upon that to withdraw the admonition. The entry in the admonition-book does not enlighten us as to the exact nature of Salmon's offence, but it is eloquent of the discord reigning in the College.

'Mem^{um} y^{t} upon ye 8 October, 1632, Mr. Salmon was peremptorily admonished by the M^{r} with ye assistance of ye Deane and in ye presence of Mr. Foster and Mr. Clerke, ye two senior fellowes, for affronting and resisting the M^{r} openly in ye execution of his place by counter-manding what he had commanded, to ye infringing of his authority and respect contrary to ye statutes both of ye Colledge and University, and (which is most of all) to his Majestye's Royall injunction and ordinances sent to ye University to be observed and executed.

'William Sandcroft.'

Sandcroft's note is as follows:

'Upon satisfaction given to me by Mr. Salmon before Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ward, and Dr. Gwin, I was contented at their request to remitt this censure.'

A letter from Tuckney in the same year (September 7, 1635) from Boston, addressed to 'the Right Worshipful and Rev^{d} Dr. Sandcroft,' shows that this was not a solitary case:

'Worthy Sir,

'I beseech you pardon my boldness, if out of zeal for the Colledge good, and your honour, I become a humble petitioner to you, and that you would study the College peace, willingly maintain the Fellows' lawful priviledges as your own, especially if in small matters, tho they be against your judgment, in wisdome to chuse the fittest time and fayrest means to reform them, and rather than to make a breach, fayrly to pass them by, till you may effect what you desire more conveniently. Former broyles and foyles in the like kind have been dishonourable to the whole body, if not in your time, yet I am sure in your Predecessor's; his clashing with the fellows, especially those who were a means to bring him into his mastership, gayned himself a greater fall than he could give them, though then he was as potent as another. The sad event of those jarrs which I then saw, the certain ruin of a divided house which I read of, the greater advantage in this which some great Visitor may gaine, by getting the finger into such a hole to make the greater rent, and the earnest desire of such of your fellowes (who truly honour you, and dearly tender your health and life, which by such paroxysms they fear may be endangered) that I would do what I could to make up the breach, have made me as free with some of the fellows of the one side, so bold also with you the worthy Master on the other, to treat or rather intreat for a full Pacification. Which should I be so happy as to be the means of, I should ever have cause to bless God for it, and none I hope would have cause to distaste this my humble boldness, which yet I crave pardon for, and with tender of my best service and heartiest desires of your health and peace, and the Colleges continued flourish under you, I humbly crave leave, and rest

'Your worships in Christ to be commanded,

'Anth. Tuckney.'

What these 'broyles' were we have no means of exactly ascertaining, but they were at any rate partly on financial questions. For instance, on October 30, 1634, an appeal was made by the four senior Fellows (Clerk, Wright, Hall, and Salmon) to the Vice-Chancellor (Lowe) and the two senior Doctors of Divinity (Ward of Sidney and Bainbrigg of Christ's) as to £4 a year which they alleged was due to each of them — as senior Fellows in Holy Orders — from the Pinchbeck property, as well as certain shares of the 'sealing' money. The award went wholly in favour of the Fellows; but it is significant that Salmon should again be a party to a controversy with the Master as in the quarrel already described, leading like the former to a case before the Vice-Chancellor and visitors.

In the course of Sandcroft's mastership there was another alarm of the plague. A College order of April 20, 1630, records that 'through God's just hand the infection of the plague is soe spread in many places of ye towne that scarce any Schollars are left in the Colledge'; the Master and Fellows and scholars are therefore allowed free leave to go anywhere that may be safe, without loss of allowances, till next commencement, or, if the plague continues, till September 29. By another order of October 1 in the same year, the leave is extended to November 1, 'because we cannot safely return to the Colledge.' Another item in College management, with which Sandcroft is connected in the order-book, is a rearrangement of the rents of scholars' chambers, which vary from 10s. in the garrets to 26s. 8d. (2 marks) in the 'new building next the fields,' which is a considerable advance on the scale as settled

in 1614, in which the highest is 10s. and the lowest 2s. He seems to have been active in discipline, as twenty-four admonitions are signed by him, the offences being generally drunkenness, quarrelling and striking, being out in prohibited hours, and negligence at chapel.

The end is briefly noted in Worthington's diary:

'1637, April 6.—The Master of the College (Dr. Sandcroft) returned from Bury.

'April 13.—The Master of the College went to Bury again, where he died not long after.

'April 25.—On this day was the election of a new Master, viz., Mr. Holdsworth. April 26 he was admitted.'

Under Sandcroft's rule a group of men were educated at Emmanuel who headed a reaction against the extreme school of Calvin. They were led in divergent ways to moderate Puritanism combined with Churchmanship, to Independency, to rational theology. Many of them were pupils of Anthony Tuckney (Fellow 1619-1629), and were much influenced by him, who, though doctrinally a strong Calvinist, was yet in practical matters moderate and tolerant. The most distinguished representative of Independency was Peter Sterry (Fellow 1636). He does not seem to have resided. He went to London as a 'preacher,' and was nominated as one of the Westminster Assembly in 1642. In Cambridge he had been looked upon as a mystic, and as one of the 'Platonists' noticed below. His views, however, recommended him to Cromwell, whose chaplain he became, as well as 'Preacher to the Council of State.' His thanksgiving sermon before Parliament on Novem-

ber 5, 1650, shows that he was as bitterly opposed to Presbyterian as to Episcopal Church government. It is called *England's Deliverance from the Northern Presbytery compared with its Deliverance from the Roman Papacy*. It is written in vigorous English, and its view of the Presbytery may be summed up in Milton's phrase, 'New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large,' and in the almost contemporary sonnet to Cromwell:

> 'New foes arise
> Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw.'

As chaplain of Parliament he exercised the function, formerly belonging to the Archbishop, of Censor to the Press, giving his imprimatur to such works as were authorized. He was fitted for this by his literary tastes and love of the arts, in which he differed from the ordinary Puritans and Presbyterians, the latter of whom he denounces in his sermon because, among other things, 'they attack the sense and fancy as vain.' He printed little in his lifetime, but after his death there were published: (1) *Discourse of the Freedom of the Will*, fol., 1675; (2) *The Rise, Race, and Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul of Man*, 4to., 1688; (3) *The Appearance of God to Man in the Gospel and Gospel Change*, 4to., 1710. In the last-named a second volume is promised containing his letters, but it does not seem to have appeared. His style, which is vigorous and direct, has been compared with Milton's, with whom (according to some) he was associated as Latin secretary. His brother Nathaniel also graduated at Emmanuel in

1648, but in the following year became a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

Of the other divines collectively spoken of as the Cambridge Platonists, or sometimes as Latitudinarians, who, starting from Puritanism, rebelled against its narrowness and dogmatism, and, above all, against its depreciation of learning and reason, most were Emmanuel men. The leader was Benjamin Whichcote, who entered the College in 1626, was elected Fellow in 1633, and remained in College, taking many pupils, till 1643, when he was presented to North Cadbury. He had hardly settled there and married, when he was called back to Cambridge and made Provost of King's College, on the ejection of Collis by the Parliamentary Commissioners headed by Manchester. He accepted the office with hesitation (March 19), and insisted on Collis receiving half the emolument. In 1649 he gave up North Cadbury, and was presented by King's to Milton. Ejected from the provostship in 1660, he retained Milton, and, accepting the Act of Uniformity, was elected and licensed to the cure of St. Anne's, Blackfriars (November, 1662), and, on the destruction of that church in the Fire of 1666, was presented by the Crown to St. Laurence Jewry. He died in 1683 while on a visit to Cudworth at Christ's College. While at King's, and perhaps before, he 'lectured' in the afternoon at Trinity Church in Cambridge, a duty which he maintained for many years. Several of the Fellows of Colleges—his friends and followers—did the same in other churches. It was by preaching, and by his personal intercourse with his pupils and friends, that his great work was done and his extraordinary influence at

Cambridge, and thence on the Church in general, exercised. He published nothing during his life, but after his death there appeared some sermons or notes of sermons, and certain apophthegms, taken down by a pupil or hearer, under the title of *Θεοφορούμενα δόγματα* (1685), and in 1753 was published *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, with the letters which passed between Whichcote and Tuckney in 1651, on the unsoundness of Whichcote's theology, which had alarmed Tuckney. But in spite of Tuckney's opposition, and that of Arrowsmith of St. John's, and Hill of Trinity, the younger Masters of Arts in the University very largely embraced his liberal opinions, and the movement thus inaugurated was an important element in the reaction which at the Restoration revived Episcopacy and the Church with such apparent ease and popular approval.

Another of this school was Ralph Cudworth, son of a former Fellow of the College and Rector of Aller, who entered Emmanuel in 1632, and was elected Fellow November 9, 1639. He had many pupils, among whom was Sir W. Temple. In 1645 he was made Master of Clare by the Parliamentary Visitors, and in the same year was elected Professor of Hebrew. In 1651 he was presented to North Cadbury by Emmanuel, and in 1654 was elected Master of Christ's, which place he held till his death in 1688. His great work was *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678, fol.). It was designed to show the impossibility of atheism, and to establish the liberty of human action as against the fatalists. It reviews the ancient systems of philosophy, and broaches 'his own famous theory of a *plastic nature* —a device to account for the operations of physical laws

without the continued agency of the Deity' (Hallam, *Lit. Hist.*, iv. 65). The fourth and longest chapter of the book seeks to establish by a wider review of ancient literature and philosophy that the unity of God had always been believed. The hall-mark of this book, as of others by Cudworth, distinguishing it from the works of the party from which the Platonists emerged, is learning. Hebrew and Greek learning was decried by many of the Puritans; Cudworth, like the others of his school, pursued it in every shape and in every place.

Another eminent member of this school was Nathaniel Culverwell (a name familiar to us as that of Chaderton's wife), who was elected Fellow in 1642. He was still a Fellow in June, 1646 (Worthington, vol. i., p. 24), but beyond the fact that he was dead when his College sermons and his treatise *A Discourse of the Light of Nature* were edited by William Dillingham in 1651-52; that he had suffered from ill-health; and, as his brother's letter prefixed to the *Discourse* infers, that he was of a reserved and, some thought, haughty nature, we know nothing of him. The sermon *Mt. Ebal* seems to have been preached in 1642 or 1643, when the country was shuddering at the news of the Irish Massacre, and his references to that event, and an approving allusion to the Covenant, show that he was in sympathy with the Puritan party at the beginning of the struggle between King and Parliament. But the *Discourse*, composed about 1645, plainly classes him rather with Cudworth than with the fanatics. It is an eloquent composition, and its chief purpose is to vindicate the value of human reason and the supreme importance of

the light of knowledge: 'Reason and Faith may kiss each other. There is a twin light springing from both, and they both spring from the same fountain of light.' That is the moral of the whole treatise, which is full of learning and studded with quotations in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—a brilliant protest against the narrow views that had so long prevailed in the University.

Two years junior to Culverwell was JOHN SMITH (M.A. 1644), who was made Fellow of Queens' by the Earl of Manchester. His *Select Discourses* (London, 1660) were edited by Worthington after his death, which took place in 1652. His style is as good as that of Culverwell, or even better. It is, indeed, surprisingly clear and forcible, and with the true rhythm of musical prose. It is saturated with learning and philosophy. Lastly may be mentioned, as in general sympathy with this school, JOHN WORTHINGTON, who, besides editing Smith's *Select Discourses*, has left a journal and correspondence which has been edited for the Cheetham Society. He entered Emmanuel as a sizar in 1632, and was admitted Fellow in 1642 after some contest, of which an account has to be given in the next chapter. Though a constant preacher in chapel, his interests were rather literary and philosophical than theological. Yet several of his theological works went through many editions, and were translated into German. From 1650 to 1660 he was Master of Jesus, being displaced at the latter date to make room for the return of Sterne, who had been ejected in 1644.

Another of the undergraduates of Sandcroft's time had a very different career. JOHN SADLER (B.A. 1633,

Fellow 1638) became a lawyer, and was offered the post of Chief Justice of Munster by Cromwell. In 1650 he was made Master of Magdalene. For some time he was M.P. for Cambridge, and later on for Great Yarmouth, and held many offices under the Protectorate, which he lost at the Restoration. His works (including a masque) were not important, but he gained some notoriety by prophesying in 1662 the Great Plague and Fire of London. His contemporaries thought him somewhat of a lunatic. John Breton (1629) and William Dillingham (1636), both successively Masters of the College, will be noticed in due course. But the most substantial fame was won by JOHN WALLIS (scholar 1632, B.A. 1636), who gained his first reputation by the solution of ciphers, and was made a Fellow of Queens' in 1644 by order of Parliament, and in 1649 Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford by Oliver Cromwell. His mathematical works were the most original and suggestive ever published in England before those of Newton. His *Arithmetica Infinitorum* (1655) and its introduction 'contained germs of the differential calculus, and gave in everything but form advanced specimens of the integral calculus' (*Dictionary of National Biography*). This was followed by the *Mechanica* (1669), which contained 'a correct theory of the impacts of inelastic bodies.' Between these two works there were numerous other mathematical tractates of value. He has the credit of first discovering how to teach the deaf and dumb to speak, and he published also sermons and works on theology, grammar, and logic. His political conduct was so cautious or moderate that he suffered no deprivations at the Restoration.

He retained a high reputation for scholarship and science till his death in 1703, at the age of eighty-six. His having failed to be elected Fellow at Emmanuel is probably to be explained by the fact that there was already a Fellow of the county of Kent elected in 1635 (Richard Welles). Jeremiah Horrocks, sizar 1632, was a most distinguished astronomer, who, with no appliances, made many remarkable discoveries. When Curate of Hook he predicted and observed a transit of Venus, November 24, 1639. He died in 1641. As representatives of learning may here be mentioned, though they entered the College somewhat earlier, Edmund Castell (1621), Professor of Arabic (1664), author of the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' on which he worked eighteen hours a day for seventeen years; and Sir Roger Twysden (1614), who was one of the editors of the English chronicles (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem*, 1652). He was first on the side of the Parliament, but was afterwards imprisoned by it. He survived till 1672.

Though the active influence of the men here described belongs to the next generation, all, except the two last-named, entered the College during Sandcroft's mastership. At his death the College had existed just fifty-three years. It must be acknowledged that for that short period—short in the life of a permanent institution—it had been fortunate both in the number and varied eminence of its sons. It had, so to speak, caught a movement on the rise, and had been able to identify itself both with its ascent and decline. It had already an individuality which attracted benefactions, and induced men of high standing to select it for their sons.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR: MASTERSHIPS OF RICHARD HOLDSWORTH (1637-1644), ANTHONY TUCKNEY (1644-1653), AND WILLIAM DILLINGHAM (1653-1662)

We have seen the steady rise of the College in numbers and importance since its foundation, and its productiveness in men of earnest convictions—convictions which brought them into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, and in many cases led them to seek beyond the ocean a new country, where their views might have freer play. Lastly we have seen how the College had begun to produce men destined to lead a reaction against the narrowness and dogmatism of this party, without, as yet, any wide divergence from their predecessors in fundamentals. The period of the Civil War saw the College rise to its zenith in point of numbers and University importance, but prepared the way to a very sudden and very marked fall.

On the death of Sandcroft the Fellows looked abroad for a new Master. Perhaps their division of sentiment made an election within their own walls difficult. They fixed upon Richard Holdsworth, late Fellow of St.

John's, Rector of St. Peter's, Broad Street, London, and Gresham Professor of Divinity. In 1633 he had been elected master by a majority of the Fellows of St. John's, but the senior Fellows wished for a certain Dr. Lane, and Charles I., on being appealed to, nominated Lane, but on receiving remonstrance, and making further investigation, annulled both elections, and William Beal was appointed by royal mandate. Holdsworth, however, became Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Prebend of Buckden, two pieces of preferment held by the late Master of St. John's. He had a great reputation in London both as a preacher and lecturer at Gresham's College, and belonged to the party of the moderate Puritans. Though he objected to the continuance of Convocation by royal writ in 1640, and signed his assent to Usher's schemes for Synods to take the place of Bishops, he seems quickly to have altered his opinion, and to have remained a staunch Church of England man, and from the outbreak of the war an enthusiastic Loyalist.

He was elected on April 25, and admitted on the 26th, 1637. The first three years of his mastership seem to have passed quietly, but two points of College policy were settled almost immediately after his election. The College order of July 28, 1637, made a fresh interpretation of the thirteenth statute, declaring that the Master was not bound to give up any ecclesiastical preferment which he held before his election. This is signed by six Fellows. Another order on the same day, signed by the same six and the Master, declared that among 'the violent detensions' justifying a Fellow's absence from College was to be accounted 'the accept-

ing of a living to which he shall be appointed,' the others being a necessary suit of law and 'the sickness or death of very near friends.' The admonition-book shows that Holdsworth was in residence in the early part of 1638, but in June of that year, when it became necessary once more to give leave of absence to every one to October 2, because 'through God's just hand the plague is soe spreade in many places of the towne, that scarce any schollers are left,' the order is signed by seven Fellows without the Master, who was probably at his cure in London. His interest in education is shown by his elaborate directions to students for their studies and conduct, his MS. of which is in the Library. There seems to have been the usual amount of disciplinary cases, and no more—missing chapel and 'lying out' in the town, and most of all 'hunting with greyhounds.' But the attention of the Master and Fellows was soon called to graver matters. The Short Parliament met on April 13, 1640, and on the 29th of that month the Commons desired a conference with the Lords as to Communion-tables set altar-wise in parish churches and chapels in the University, as well as crosses, images, and crucifixes. On May 1 the House heard a complaint of a sermon preached by Beale, of St. John's, and ordered his attendance on the 7th. Though further proceedings were prevented by the dissolution on May 5, it was evident that Parliament, when it did sit, had resolved on interfering in the University.

Of all the Colleges, it would have seemed that Emmanuel had least to fear, but it was, strange to say, nearly the first that drew upon itself the attention of the Long Parliament, which met on November 3.

Absolutely the first was Peterhouse, where a certain Mr. Norton complained that some Fellows had tried to seduce his son to Popery (November 24).* But on December 17 a Committee consisting of Sir H. Mildmay and thirty-three other members was appointed to consider a petition of the family of the founder as to Emmanuel College. It was the old question of the *de mora* statute, and the result was a Bill read a second time on July 2, 1641, confirming the statutes of the College—*i.e.*, abolishing the suspension of the statute granted by the King in 1626. But while the Bill was still in suspense a case arose in the College which gave the House an opportunity of definite interference. On October 16, 1641, there was an election to a Fellowship. The Master and four Fellows voted for Worthington, six Fellows for a Mr. T. Hodges. But three of the six, Holbech, Harris, and Hall, were past the standing of Doctor, and Worthington and his friends protested against their votes. They appear to have justified their vote on the ground that Hodges came from one of the two counties, Essex and Northamptonshire, to which the founder had given a preference. The four for Worthington (Whichcote, Almond, Sadler, Cudworth) replied that such preference was only *cæteris paribus*, and was not intended to override merit. The matter was at once reported to the House of Commons, and on October 21 an order was passed forbidding the Master to admit either till the Committee appointed to consider

* Peterhouse, whose Master was Cosin, seems to have been notorious in this respect. In Worthington's Diary, under January 16, 1640, we find: 'There was one Mr. Nicols put in prison here for speaking against the King's supremacy and seducing to Popery. He was Fellow of Peterhouse.'

the Bill above mentioned had investigated the case. The Committee was to be revived for this purpose, and to sit on January 3, 1642. In consequence of its report, a resolution was passed on March 22 declaring that Holbech, Harris, and Hall were no longer Fellows, and ought not to have voted, and that Worthington had been duly elected. Though the power of the House to enforce such an order, or to interfere in the matter at all, seems very questionable, it was obeyed, and on April 4 Worthington was admitted Fellow.

Holdsworth, though he had voted for Worthington, seems to have protested against the action of Parliament, but with no other result than to draw upon himself the suspicions of the House. Other measures affecting the University were adopted simultaneously or soon afterwards. On January 20, 1641, a resolution was passed against imposing on scholars a subscription to the Articles, and on the 22nd another condemning Cosin, Master of Perterhouse, for 'bringing superstitious innovations into the Church leading to idolatry, and speaking scandalous and malicious words against his Majesty's supremacy and the established religion,' and declaring him unfit to be Master. On July 23 in the same year

'the House of Commons receiving information concerning an oration made in the University of Cambridge, touching the decay of learning, by Dr. Holdsworth, the Vice-Chancellor, wherein it was alleged were great reflections on the proceedings of Parliament, referred the matter to the consideration of a committee.'

We do not know what the report of this Committee was, but Holdsworth was not disturbed for the present,

and though he had been appointed one of the King's chaplains, and had entertained the King and Prince in March, 1642 (Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 322), he was in May of the same year nominated upon the Westminster Assembly of Divines by the House of Lords, and approved by the Commons. His duties as Vice-Chancellor, however, kept him at Cambridge, and he does not appear to have attended the Assembly. He seems not to have been officially concerned in the business of sending College plate to the King in August, 1642; but in February, 1643, an order was passed that 'Dr. Holdsworth the Vice-Chancellor be forthwith sent for in safe custody, at his own charges, and that Captain Cromwell be desired to take care to send him up accordingly.' His offence was having licensed the printing of Ferne's pamphlet, the title of which will show the reason: *The Resolving of Conscience upon this Question: whether upon a Supposition or Case as is now usually made* (*viz., the King will not discharge his Trust, but is bent or seduced to unbend Religion*), *Subjects may take up Arms and resist? and whether that case is now?* He had also paid £100 for the College to the King, for which a receipt, August 11, 1642, is in the College treasury.

Though sent to London in accordance with this order, he seems to have returned shortly, for on Good Friday, March 30, 1643, he was with the Heads in consistory to consider the demand of money for Parliament. As they did not answer at once, Lord Grey and Cromwell's soldiers surrounded the schools, and kept them there till one o'clock the next morning. Yet next day they told Lord Grey 'that it was against true religion

and a good conscience to contribute to the Parliament in this war.' The Parliament, however, was resolved to be avenged on Holdsworth. In May he was arrested for licensing the printing of the King's declaration from York, and confined first in Ely House, and then in the Tower, where he remained till October 31, when he was released on bail on account of his health. While a prisoner in Ely House he was elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity, and it was this defiance that caused his removal to the Tower, in order that no officer of the University should have access to him to tender the oath of admittance to the office. The University officials were, moreover, forbidden to admit him 'till the house take further order' (October 2, 1643).

The condition of his release from the Tower was that he should not go more than twenty miles from London. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and Master of St. Catherine's, acted as deputy Vice-Chancellor, and Robert Sorsby, a senior Fellow, as deputy Master of Emmanuel. Meanwhile practical steps had been taken to bring the University into harmony with the ordinances of Parliament. Under date December 20, 1643, Worthington notes in his journal, 'This week pictures began to be taken down in Cambridge by order of the Earl of Manchester.' And in February of the next year Manchester, accompanied by two chaplains, arrived with full powers 'to endeavour the reformation of the University,' and gave notice that all Fellows, scholars, and officers of each College were to be in residence by March 10 following. He had authority to eject Masters and Fellows for 'scandalous lives or doctrines,' or for 'opposing the proceedings of Parliament,' for

non-residence, or, in fact, for any reason which seemed good to him. He could also call upon them to take the Covenant. But this does not seem to have always been insisted upon. Whichcote, for instance, who was made Provost of King's by Manchester, always declined it, as did Sancroft (afterwards Archbishop) and other Fellows of Emmanuel, without being ejected on that ground. But it was not to be expected that Holdsworth, confined to a circle of twenty miles round London for 'delinquency' as having opposed the proceedings of Parliament, would escape ejection. The mastership and the London living were already 'sequestered,' and early in 1644 Manchester seems to have sent the regular formula to the Fellows announcing that Holdsworth was ejected, and Thomas Hill, a former Fellow, and one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, nominated to succeed him. The College, however, was treated with consideration, as is shown by the following warrant of Manchester's:

'Whereas I am informed by some of the Fellows of Emmanuel Colledge that Dr. Holdsworth hath given or designed his library, or a great part thereof, to the said Colledge: These are therefore to require all assessors and sequestrators to forbear to seize or sequester the said library, or anything in his lodgings (within the said Colledge), till you receive further order from myself. Which I require the rather because I am well assured that all his goods there besides books are no way considerable.

'Manchester.

'Given under my hand this third of April, 1644.'

We shall hear more of these books hereafter. Holdsworth only survived the King a few months, dying in

August, 1649, after having been often in attendance upon him during his confinement and trial. He published little in his lifetime, but shortly after his death a volume containing twenty-one sermons, and called *The Valley of Vision* (1651), was published, including one sermon printed during his life, called 'The People's Happiness,' and in 1661 his nephew (Richard Pearson) edited his *prælectiones* delivered in Gresham College.

Only one other ejection befell Emmanuel, that of R. Sorsby, who had been acting as deputy Master during the sequestration. For the determination of the Fellowships of Hall, Holbech, and Wright in 1642 cannot count as ejection; they were merely declared to be superannuated according to the *de mora* statute. Nicholas Hall, in fact, had refused to leave the College or acknowledge his Fellowship to be void, and was accordingly summoned before Parliament as a 'delinquent' on June 10, 1643. Sorsby seems to have brought his ejection upon himself. On October 12, 1643, as *locum tenens* of the Master, he declared the Fellowships of John Almond and John Sadler to be vacant, on the ground of their absence from College, and protested against their votes for the presentation to North Cadbury. Almond was a preacher at Lynne, and Sadler was in the employ of Cromwell, as we have seen, and though an appeal to the Visitors, Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, Master of St. Catherine's, and deputy Vice-Chancellor, Bainbrigg, Master of Christ's, and Collis, Regius Professor of Divinity, the declaration of Sorsby was annulled (October 17, 1643). This or some other display of Royalist proclivities attracted the attention of the Committee, and on the following April 8 (1644)

'his name was cut out of the butteries by command from the Lord Manchester' (Worthington's Diary). At the Restoration he became Precentor of York.

Though Hill was nominated Master of Emmanuel, and speaks of himself in one of his books as 'late Master,' he does not appear ever to have been admitted or to have performed any function as Master. Before he could do either, he was transferred to the mastership of Trinity. On April 11, 1645, the Westminster Divines approved of the appointment of Anthony Tuckney to the mastership of Emmanuel, and in July of that year we find him admitting scholars (Worthington, vol. i., p. 212). Apparently, however, there was some doubt as to the legality of his position, for as late as 1648 (May 18) 'the Commons sent to the Lords an ordinance for making Mr. Anthony Tuckney Master of Emmanuel' (Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 379).

Tuckney at the time of his election was in a conspicuous position, being a leading member of the Westminster Assembly, and Rector of a London living, St. Michael-le-Querne, in Cheapside. During his ten years of Fellowship (1619-1630) he had been a successful Tutor, and had then removed to Boston as 'town preacher,' where his cousin, John Cotton, was Vicar. On Cotton's emigration to America (1633), he succeeded him as Vicar, and remained there till the appointment to the Westminster Assembly (1643). On being nominated Master of Emmanuel in 1645, he appears to have remained in London, with occasional visits to Cambridge, till 1648, as he was chairman of a committee of the Assembly for drawing up the Catechism and other dogmatic decrees. He signs an admonition

('for fighting on a challenge') on October 22, 1646, but on July 26, 1648, we find R. Cudworth signing one as his *locum tenens* (though by this time Master of Clare).* Later in this year, however, he removed to Cambridge with his family, and resided at Emmanuel till his election to St. John's (June, 1653). An ordinance was also passed in the House of Lords, March 30, 1648, for appointing him Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. But the professorship was, in fact, not filled up till Holdsworth's death in the next year, when (September 3, 1649) Tuckney, as Vice-Chancellor, himself admitted Richard Love to that office. As Vice-Chancellor also, Tuckney went to Kimbolton (March 15) to address an oration to the Earl of Manchester on his election as Chancellor in the place of the Earl of Holland, beheaded on the 9th.

Of the rest of his vice-chancellorship we have no record, but on September 13, 1649, Parliament ordered a Commission to issue for the visitation of the Universities, which was to have considerable effect upon the College, especially in consequence of a subsequent order of Parliament (October 12) directing the Commissioners to cause all Heads of Houses, all graduates and officers of the University and all Fellows to take the 'Engagement,' which was in these words: 'I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords.' No one henceforth was to be admitted to a degree or office in the

* Cudworth, though appointed Master of Clare, could not get the stipend paid, and remained Fellow of Emmanuel till presented to North Cadbury in 1650.

University before he had subscribed to this 'Engagement.'

This, as we shall see, was resisted by some of the Emmanuel Fellows. But before it came into operation the position of the College was improved by another measure of the Committee—the formation of a new cycle for the nomination of Proctors, Taxors, and Scrutators, on the petition of the Fellows of Emmanuel and Sidney, whereby these two Colleges for the first time took their turn (five times in fifty-one years) of making these nominations. The cycle was drawn up by a syndicate nominated by the Senate on the suggestion of the Committee, and was confirmed by an order of the Committee on August 20, 1650 (Heywood and Wright, vol. ii., p. 528). Some opposition was made by Trinity and St. John's, but was overruled. The privilege was continued in 1663 upon a letter from the King dated August 3, 1661. The mastership this year also received an augmentation of £100 a year as its share of the £2,000 voted on April 5, 1650, for 'the increase and maintenance of the Masters and Heads of Houses.'

The imposition of the 'Engagement' does not seem to have been pressed with much haste or regularity, and some officers of the University managed to satisfy the Commissioners in other ways. At the beginning of 1650 (January 2) an order of the House was made for enforcing it with greater strictness. Still, there was some natural hesitation in pressing too severely upon men otherwise considered worthy of their places. Thus, William Sancroft (afterwards Master and Archbishop

* These augmentations, though voted by Parliament, do not appear to have been paid, or, at any rate, continued.

of Canterbury) seemed for a time likely to escape. There was so much delay in proceeding against him that he himself felt that he must have 'some secret friend who doth me good offices though I know it not' (D'Oyly, vol. i., p. 53). He appears to have been absent from Cambridge from ill-health (after his father's death) in the early part of 1650, and there seemed to be some chance of his being left undisturbed. A friend in St. John's, writing to him on March 15 in that year, tells him :

'The news from London says your business is treated, and you are given to us now upon a surer foundation than we could possibly hope to enjoy you ; for, when your Fellowship was asked, the petitioners were answered that they might as well think to remove a mountain as Mr. Sancroft.'

As late as November 17 he is able to tell his brother that he is 'not turned out yet, though many have been.' On April 10, 1651, a peremptory notice from the Committee was left at his chambers that, unless on that day month he made it appear that he had subscribed the 'Engagement,' the Committee would nominate another to succeed him. Accordingly on April 22 he tells his brother that he expects to be finally displaced on the Thursday fortnight from that date. Still, the blow was by some means averted for some weeks longer ; for on May 24 he writes to Bishop Brownrigg that he 'was still continued in his opportunities' in Cambridge. But a letter of August 13 shows that the expulsion had then taken place ; and in the College orders beginning October 29, 1651, his name is not among the

attestors, while the names of three new Fellows elected in 1651 appear for the first time—Carter, Illingworth, and Mosley. The first of these had been brought in from Queens', while the theological position of the second is shown by the fact of his having been afterwards ejected under the Bartholomew Act of 1662. Being then pressed by a friend to continue in his Fellowship, observing, 'But we must live,' Illingworth answered, 'Ay, and we must die.'

Thomas Bramford, on whose petition the peremptory notice had been served on Sancroft by the Committee, succeeded to the vacancy caused by his deprivation, and died a Fellow of the College. Another Fellow elected in the same year—William Crosse—became a distinguished physician and a F.R.S. in the next reign, and founded an algebra lecture.

The other Fellows appear mostly to have conformed; but there were some waverers, as, for instance, John Davenport, who at first refused and then consented, but appears in some way to have avoided actually signing, for in 1654 he was ejected for not having taken the 'Engagement.' The College does not seem to have been otherwise troubled by the Committee or by the Government. The numbers were fairly well maintained, and the order-book, though very meagre, shows that domestic affairs were following the usual course. We have regulations as to leases, as to the use of the tennis-court, as to dividends of corn and wood money, the purchase of books for the library, and the fees to be paid for degrees.

But its wave of prosperity was somewhat on the decline. In 1653 Tuckney became Master of St. John's,

and, on the nomination of the Chancellor, Oliver St. John,* WILLIAM DILLINGHAM was elected as his successor. He was a man of wide literary interests, editor of Culverwell's *Light of Nature*, and the author of many other tracts and editions, as well as of Latin and English poems. Towards the end of his life he published biographies of Chaderton and Archbishop Usher in Latin. In his ecclesiastical views he was a moderate Puritan, and had no objection to liturgy or surplice. But under his charge the College showed no sign of recuperation. The number of entries averaged only about twenty-five, and a College order regarding the stipend of the Head Lecturer and the fees to be paid by residents mentions that the proportion of sizars to pensioners was increasing. This means that the social status of the members of the College was on the decline, as well as its numbers—a change which seems to answer to that which was passing over the upper and middle classes in the country generally, who were becoming alienated from the extreme Puritanism and the political views supposed to characterize the College. Another cause of decline, also, was the dissension which reigned in the society itself. Thomas Smith of Christ's, writing to Sancroft on November 2, 1660, says: 'In your College half the society are for the liturgy, and half against it, so it is used one week, and the directory used another.'

Thus, of the Fellows elected between 1655 and the Restoration, two, Illingworth and Hulse—the latter a physician attached to the Orange family—resigned in

* Lord Manchester had been deprived of the chancellorship on November 27, 1651, for refusing the 'Engagement.' The Committee was dissolved on April 21, 1652.

1662 on account of the St. Bartholomew Act; but two others, Kidder and Bright, obtained high Church preferment. The former, indeed, was ejected from Standground for refusing 'to subscribe to a prayer-book which he had never seen'; but he always asserted that he had 'never taken either Covenant or Engagement, and was quite satisfied in Episcopacy and with a liturgy.' He became Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1691, but retained sufficient remains of his Puritanism to excite the dislike of his Chapter and clergy, especially of those who were High Church. He and his wife were killed in their bed by a fall of a stack of chimneys in the palace at Wells in the great storm of November 26, 1703. Bright became Dean of St. Asaph.

Dillingham himself, though deprived in 1662 for refusing to declare the Solemn League and Covenant an unlawful oath, not binding on those who had voluntarily taken it, was not extreme in his opinions nor specially obnoxious to the opposite party. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1660, and though he was prevented by illness from heading the deputation which, on June 3, offered their congratulations to the King at Westminster, he contributed a very loyal introduction to the collection of Latin poems called *σῶστρα*, published by the University to celebrate the Restoration. But he was said to be more interested in his private studies and literary employments than in the government of the College. Certainly the entrances were low during his mastership, and the number of 'admonitions' (12) is rather above the average, as though the men were somewhat out of hand. They are mostly for 'drinking in alehouses,' where the delinquents are sometimes 'taken by the

Vice-Chancellor,' or for neglecting their studies or their Tutor's prayers. Two men are admonished 'for gross misdemeanours tending to the dishonour of God and the discredit of the College.' The Birdbolt tavern then, as now,* faced the College, for in 1656 two men are admonished 'for frequenting the bird-bolt, and there drinking and singing.' Two others are also admonished 'for disorderly carriage in sitting up drinking till three in the morning, and causing disturbances in the College,' and another for 'robbing the fellows' orchard.' Neglect of studies is frequently mentioned in conjunction with these offences, and a College order in 1656 seems to imply that 'scholastic exercises'—holding the place somewhat of College examinations—were apt to be omitted or avoided.

But if Dillingham was not a very energetic Master, he was greatly attached to the College and to University life, and it is much to the credit of his honesty that he quitted it on conscientious grounds in 1662. He retired first to Oundle, near his native village of Banwell All Saints, where he lived in retirement for ten years. In 1673, however, he married a widow, Mary Toller, who had good means and seven children; and then being persuaded to conform, he was presented to the living of Odell or Woodhill in Bedfordshire, where he died in November, 1689. He spent these last years of his life in literary employments, and kept up throughout a most affectionate correspondence with Sancroft, who had been his 'chamber-fellow' as an undergraduate, and succeeded him in the mastership. From time to time he visited

* As this book is passing through the press the old hostel is in the process of demolition.

the College, and took much interest in the conversion of the old chapel into the library. His letter to Sancroft just after the latter's election to mastership, which he had been obliged to vacate himself, is worth reading. It shows, not only his own amiability, but how these frequent changes and confiscations were softened to the sufferers by the personal kindness and respect which were not impaired by wide differences in politics or theology. It is dated 'Oundle, 22 Dec. 1662':

'Honoured Sir,

'Late the last night I received your kind letter which within 24 howers over-tooke the first intimation I received of your being in the South. I have sent my servant to cleare the lower study for your present use, according as you desire, untill such time as I can waite on you myselfe, which I intend (God willing) presently after the twelve dayes are ended, by which time I hope you may be more at leisure, the wayes more passable, and myself better accommodated with health (than at present) for the undertaking of such a journy. I have sent herewith my cope, and scarlet gown, and scarlet hood, and my surplice, about which I shall conferre with you when we meet, and which you may please freely to make use of for your present occasions. Give me leive to suggest one thing onely at present, wherein I think the Colledge may be a little concerned; and it is in behalf of those who are turned out of the College livings now to be disposed of. Mr. Cradock his expense of £100 this last yeare in settling the title of North Cadbury (which he effected above the hopes of his friends) deserves that he should be kindly treated by him that shall succeed him; and poore Mr. Chadwick, who came to Winsford Regis (left much dilapidated by Mr. Ward and afterwards during Mr. Foster's absence), whereon he hath expended neer £60 as I under-

stand, deserves commiseration. Sir, I make bold only to suggest these things to you as haveing had good reason formerly to take notice of them, but leaving them to your own consideration. Sir, my prayers are and shalbe for the blessing of God upon yourselfe and the Colledge, *cætera coram.*

'Your affectionate friend and servant,

'William Dillingham.'

Dillingham's mastership came to an end on August 24, and on the 31st William Sancroft was elected. It would not be easy for a dispossessed man to write to his successor with more magnanimous kindness or with better temper.

In this period Emmanuel produced another man who was destined to play a somewhat conspicuous part in the Government of the Restoration. On August 21, 1644, William Temple was entered on the College books as a Fellow-commoner. He was then sixteen years old, and does not appear to have taken a degree, though his presentation in after years of some of his works to the College library testifies to his kindly remembrance of his residence within its walls. His scheme for a Cabinet Government within the Privy Council was not immediately successful, though it anticipated in a great degree what afterwards came into existence. His embassies in Holland and his services in forming the Triple Alliance in 1668, his retirement to Sheen, his friendship with William III. (whose marriage with the Princess Mary he had been greatly instrumental in securing), are matters of history. His literary essays once enjoyed a great reputation, and he was regarded as a man of considerable learning. But he lost reputation by engaging in the controversy as to the rival

merits of ancient and modern learning, and in the battle that raged between Bentley and Boyle as to the genuineness of the letters of Phalaris. The facts of most abiding interest in his career are his marriage with Dorothy Osborne, whose charming letters to him have been made public in recent years, and his entertainment of Swift as his secretary and amanuensis. It is this circumstance, perhaps, which made Swift send his Gulliver to Emmanuel. There is an interesting portrait of him in the Master's Lodge. He died in 1699.

In the same year as Temple (1644) was entered Francis Pemberton, who, acting quietly as a barrister under the Commonwealth, rose to be Chief Justice in the reign of Charles II. (1681), and, being deposed for lack of zeal in the case of Lord W. Russell, acted as counsel for the seven Bishops, and thus helped to bring on the Revolution. His portrait also is in the gallery.

An instance of Dillingham's activity in the promotion of learning is his action in regard to Gataker's edition of Marcus Antoninus—Greek text and Latin translation. Obtaining the MS. of the work from Gataker, he induced the College to join with St. John's, Clare, and Sidney in bearing the expense of its production (1652), and he himself corrected the proofs.

'When the impression was finished,' says his son, 'he layd all the books in quires in a little room on the right hand in the entry, through which we go from the Quadrangle into Wolfenden's Court and sold them out to the booksellers. . . . I remember very well my father told me that when he had sold them the College was not only reimbursed their money, but had a dividend of 20 broad pieces amongst their overplus' (*Letter from Thomas Dillingham, in the Treasury, dated February* 11, 1694-5).

CHAPTER VI

THE RESTORATION CHANGES: MASTERSHIPS OF WILLIAM SANCROFT (1662-1665), JOHN BRETON (1665-1675), THOMAS HOLBECH (1675-1680) AND JOHN BALDERSTON (1680-1719)

The Restoration was a turning-point in the history of the College. It ceased to draw any advantage from its special position as the favoured nursing-ground for ministers of a triumphant sect. What was once its chief claim to notice, and the chief cause of its success, now became a source of weakness; and it was the principal object of those under whose management it now fell to do away with the marks of singularity which had distinguished it, and to make it the home of sound loyalty and Churchmanship. The success of this policy condemned it to a long period of comparative insignificance, for its endowments were not sufficient to attract able men; and though it did not lose its connexion in the country entirely, it soon occupied a much more humble position, both in numbers and prestige. The eclipse was temporary, but it was for the time decided. The royal dispensation from the statute which ended Fellowships at the standing of D.D., revoked by the

Long Parliament, was renewed by the restored monarchy, and Emmanuel thus definitely abandoned the cherished design of its founder—that its Fellows should not regard it as a perpetual provision for life, but as a stepping-stone to the active career of a minister of the Church. It became just like other Colleges, and for a time had neither the means nor the right sort of prestige to hold its own.

William Sancroft was born at Fressingfield, Suffolk, on January 3, 1617, entered Emmanuel in July, 1634, and was elected a Fellow in 1642. The son of a country gentleman of moderate means, but of staunch loyalty, he had all along warmly embraced the side of the King. His sentiments may be gathered from his letters to his father. On January 11, 1648-49, he writes:

'Things grow worse and worse every day; and there is nothing left for the King and his party in this world but the glory of suffering well and in a good cause, which I hope nor devils nor men will be able to deprive them of.'

And on February 10 in the same year:

'What all men sadly presaged, when I wrote last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate.'

After his ejection in 1651, he divided his time till the Restoration between residence with his elder brother at Fressingfield, visits to friends, and foreign travel. He was at Rome when news reached him of the coming change, and, hurrying home, he was immediately made

one of the Royal Chaplains and a Prebendary of Durham. The College had meanwhile entirely changed, and he supposed himself forgotten in it. He was therefore surprised at being elected, on August 30, 1662, to succeed Dillingham as Master. The suggestion had probably come from Lord Manchester, who was restored to the chancellorship on May 26, 1660. At any rate, it was strongly approved by the advisers of the King, and a royal warrant was obtained relieving him from the amount of residence required by the statutes, thus enabling him to fulfil his duties as one of the Royal Chaplains, as well as Rector of Houghton-le-Spring and Canon of Durham. It was only on this condition that he had accepted the mastership; for his taste or his ambition made him cling to the offices which brought him to London and the centre of affairs. His view of the state of things in the College is best seen in the following letter to his 'ever-honoured tutor,' Wright (p. 10), at Thurcaston, the original of which is in the College treasury:

'Beyond all my expectation I am come back to the college, where I knew nobody at all, my acquaintance being wholly worn out, or rather, I am come into a new college, quite another thing from what I, and much more what you, left it. 'Tis true, in some regards the change is such that I cannot but thank God for it: there being neither faction amongst us, nor disaffection to the government of Church or State, but a general outward conformity to what is established by law, and, I hope, true principles of duty and obedience deep laid within, and a cheerful readiness to take off all the instances of that former singularity which rendered us heretofore so unhappily remarkable.

'Tis with regret and reluctancy that I turn my eye upon our defects and our infelicities; and I had rather make them the matter of a free conference, than bring them upon paper; yet into your bosom, Sir, I shall, I hope, have leave to pour them, and assure myself that, as few will apprehend them so well as you, none is able to advise more apt and proper remedies.

'I complain not that the throng is not so great about us as it was (especially reflecting what it was that drew the many hither). Blessed is the barren and miscarrying womb, rather than she that is always teeming and drawing forth her breasts to the children of disobedience. May we be desert and wilderness all over, rather than send forth such unhappy swarms and colonies, as we did in this age of sorrow; which were so many and so numerous that the stock is decayed at home, and we have none in the college capable of succeeding to our vacant fellowships. By the end of this week I shall have elected, since I returned hither, seven fellows, but most of them from abroad; so that half the society are foreigners; and yet worse: the eminent elsewhere will not be wooed to look towards us, having fairer invitations at home: they come sooner by two years (in standing, and many in age) to their fellowships, than we; and without rigid examen, which frights some from us: they keep them longer (being perpetuities) than we ours, which are thought to be but for a term; and which is most considerable, ours, while they have them, are not so well worth their owning; the statutable allowance being so miserably scant, that if the crowd fail us, (as now it doth,) you know very well, Sir, they afford not a competent subsistence: so that we are glad to accept of such as tender themselves; and forced to serve ourselves of his Majesty's grace and favour, for the removing of some esser incapacities (of age or country) in a person other-

wise fitly qualified for the main; and glad to be so eased, where our over-rigorous statutes pinch us. And then for scholarships, they are so many, and so few to fill them, that there is never any competition; the golden spur of emulation is lost, and few will study hard enough to obtain that to which a little proportion of learning will bring them.

'It would grieve you to hear one of the public examens; the Hebrew and Greek learning being out of fashion everywhere, and especially in the other colleges, where we are forced to seek our candidates for fellowships; and the rational learning they pretend to being neither the old philosophy, nor steadily any one of the new. In fine, though I must do the present society right, and say, that divers of them are very good scholars, and orthodox (I believe) and dutiful both to King and Church; yet methinks I find not that old genius and spirit of learning generally in the college that made it once so deservedly famous; nor shall I hope to retrieve it any way sooner, than by your directions who lived here in the most flourishing times of it.

'For my part, after many sad thoughts spent in this argument, I am come to a persuasion, (which I shall in confidence acquaint you with, it not being fit for every ear,) that 'tis impossible for this college ever to flourish again (unless by the old arts, and so I had rather see it sink to the ground), till the fellowships and scholarships be made competent and liberal allowances, either by increase of our revenue, or by sinking some of the number into the rest; and (*ut adhuc majora canamus*) till the body of our statutes be changed, which, if it may not be done, I see not but we are remediless. Yet these are the last refuges, and we will not be wanting to ourselves in attempting all other methods.

'I am clearly convinced of what you wisely and solidly suggest concerning the pretended statute (for truly I cannot look upon it as of the same authority with the rest) *de morâ sociorum.* Something I had done in it before you wrote. The King's suspension of that statute is, for ought I can learn, lost during these last times; you will easily guess how. But I have recovered both the first draught of it under my Lord of Ely's own hand, (whom the King appointed to pen it,) and a copy of it which I found amongst my uncle Dr. Sancroft's papers, and have preserved it ever since. If I cannot inquire out the original, I will, if I live, get it to pass the seal once more; to facilitate which, I desire, Sir, you would furnish me with your copy, if you have one, and with what memory you have besides concerning that whole affair.

'I am now in pursuit of Dr. Holdsworth's numerous library; and though the University has long since swallowed it in a general expectation, yet, having lately got a sight of his private directions to his executors, and consulted both lawyers and several of my lords the Bishops, and the executors themselves thereupon, I doubt not that all the right will prove to be ours: "provided that we erect a case or room fit to receive them," the condition upon which he gives them us. For the performance whereof, and also for the removing that great mark of singularity, which all the world so talks of, in the unusual prospect and dress of the chapel (different from that of other colleges), I have it in design to make both a new library and chapel too; and, as for the manner of contriving both, I would gladly receive your particular opinion; so I must be forced to beg the charitable and liberal assistance of all that have been members of it, and yours, Sir, especially, who wert once so great an ornament and now so true a lover of it.'

Sancroft did not remain long Master. His nomination to the deanery of York (January 3, 1664) does not appear to have involved his resignation; but when, on November 10 in the same year, he was named Dean of St. Paul's, he made up his mind to quit Cambridge. His formal resignation is entered in the order-book, and dated April 26, 1665. On May 4 in the same year a royal mandate was issued to the Fellows to elect Dr. John Breton, a Prebend of Worcester, and to relieve him from the residence enjoined by statute and the disabilities as to holding Church preferments. Sancroft's mastership therefore only extended over two years and nine months. We have little more record of what he did as Master. But the reference in the above letter to his plan for a new library and chapel shows that he at once conceived the change (already described in Chapter I.) which brought our front Court to wear its present appearance. As Dean of St. Paul's he was in constant intercourse with Sir Christopher Wren, both before and after the Great Fire, and by 1666 he had formed the plan of the new chapel, to which he contributed the then large sum of £600. The conversion of the old chapel into a library seems to have been an afterthought. A letter from Dillingham to him, dated July 15, 1678, speaks of it as even then only in contemplation.

These schemes, though conceived while he was Master, were to be carried out by Sancroft's successors. His practical activity as Master seems principally to have been in securing the election of such Fellows as would bring the College into line with the ecclesiastical recoil which was spreading all over the country. One method of

doing this was to secure royal mandates for elections. Thus, on September 2, 1662, Edward Maydwell (or Maideville) is recommended by mandate; on December 19, Matthew Brown; on the 24th, Ralph Hancock; on June 10, 1663, Henry Miles; and, finally, JOHN BRETON is recommended for the mastership by a mandate dated May 4, 1665. And the submissiveness of the Fellows to this exercise of royal authority is shown by a letter of R. Alfounder (elected 1655) to Sancroft:

'SIR,

'On Thursday last I came to Cambridge, where I met with your unexpected and (with your pardon) unwelcome resignation. But there was not any interregnum, for at the same time we received and obeyed his Majesty's commands for a successor. Sir, we are all, I think, very well satisfied with the royal choice for us, and dare not expect anything but good from it. This I think is the only way to preserve unity among us, and to satisfy ourselves and other our friends abroad. It is easier to obey than to chuse. . . . Trinity Evening, 1665.'

In the second year of Sancroft's mastership there was a slight rise in the number of admissions; but there was a great drop under his successor, partly, no doubt, on account of the plague. The first College order signed by Breton (August 10, 1665) was for the dispersal of the College and relieving the Fellows from the necessity of residing, because 'it hath pleased Almighty God in his just severity to visit this towne of Cambridge with the plague of pestilence.' This is renewed on October 7, and even on January 12 next the College is but half open. In an order of the latter date it is said that Cambridge is 'not yet free nor clear from the

infection of the plague of pestilence, though the danger, through God's blessing, is not so great as formerly.' The gates are to be kept shut, and students are only to be admitted who bring good testimonials of not coming from infected places. Five days later another order mentions that the plague has reappeared in Cambridge, and leave is given to all to depart. When this source of terror, however, had disappeared, the numbers went up again, and were maintained at a good average (about forty) throughout Breton's mastership. Sancroft appears to have found discipline relaxed, and in his short mastership—in the course of which he is frequently represented by Alfounder as *locum tenens*—there are the unusual number of eight admonitions: for drunkenness, frequenting houses of evil note, climbing over the College wall, and in three instances for stealing books. Two of these admonitions are followed by expulsion. We hear, too, for the first time of public 'recantation' in the hall being enforced—still farther emphasized under Breton (June 26, 1667) by the culprit 'openly confessing his faults in presence of the whole College at dinner-time, and asking forgiveness upon his knees in the hall.' The report of Milton having been whipped at Christ's has often been scouted; but an instance occurs in the admonition-book under Breton (April 28, 1669). Of two men it is said: 'Whilst they were undergraduates they were whipped in the butterys for foul miscarriage, and continuing unreclaimed they were this day expelled the College.' It must be remembered that many of the students entered at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and the College, as far as discipline was concerned, must have been like a public school. There

are only three admonitions in Breton's ten years of mastership.

The great subject of College interest during his time was the building of the new chapel. The plans, obtained from Christopher Wren by Sancroft, reached the Master and Fellows in September, 1667, and on the 24th of that month Breton writes to Sancroft to say that they are much pleased with them, but that they desired it to be raised to a greater height, and that the side-windows should be enlarged, as there is to be no east window. The actual work was begun early in 1668, and Breton went in person into Northamptonshire to sign a contract for a supply of stone. In March of that year the old wall, which then stood where the east cloisters now are, was pulled down. Forty large trees were sent by the Earl of Westmorland, and were brought by water from Apthorp to Barnwell Dock. It was built slowly: the framing of the roof was not begun till 1670, and the lead not placed upon it till 1671. The ceiling was plastered in 1672, and then the £3,000 which had been subscribed were exhausted. Nor was it finished at Breton's death in 1675. But his successor, Thomas Holbech, had subscribed liberally in the first instance, and immediately after his election exerted himself to bring it to completion. In 1676 and 1677 contracts were made for glazing, paving, and wainscotting, and for altar furniture. At length, on September 29, 1677, it was consecrated by Gunning, Bishop of Ely. The cost of these internal fittings had been defrayed by Sancroft in addition to his original contribution. He was earnestly invited to the consecration ceremony, but whether he was present is not

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

CHAPEL AND CLOISTER ON EAST OF THE GREAT COURT

known. He was consecrated Archbishop early in the next year (January 27, 1678), and on May 4 of that year the thanks of the Master and Fellows were sent to him in a formal Latin letter for his benefactions—

*'quibus consummatissimum Collegii nostri Sacellum, quibus ornatissimum eius altare, augustissimum et quam maxime decorum effecisti; atque adeo publicum Dei cultum (quod summis tibi erat in votis) omnibus gratiorem reddidisti.'**

In July, 1678, Dillingham, the ejected Master, visited the College and wrote to Sancroft on the scheme for converting the old chapel into a library, to which Holbech devoted the two remaining years of his life. From a poem of Joshua Barnes it seems doubtful whether the change was actually accomplished in the lifetime of Holbech. Barnes evidently refers to his dangerous state of health, and asserts that he cannot die until he has added to his work on the new chapel the completion of the new library:

'Tis he shall build the Muses' fane.
Where now they do Heaven's dreadful power adore
Learning shall flourish there again
I' the fertile ground where Piety grew before.'

Towards the end of his mastership a new lectureship in Greek was founded by Dr. Sudbury, Dean of Durham. The first lecturer appointed was William Mackarness in 1677, apparently with some difficulty. It required three at least of the four seniors to vote for him, but two (Balderston and Lee) only voted 'conditionally'; the other votes were the Master, one Fellow, and

* The organ was added in 1682, a Fellow-commoner, Burch Hethersall, giving £120.

Mackarness himself. Mackarness was nominated to Standground in 1679, but apparently died early in the following year in debt to the College. A College order of April 20, 1680, directs his Fellowship not to be filled up 'to help to repaire an *insigne detrimentum*, which the College suffered by the death of Mr. Mackarness.'

In November of the same year (1680) Holbech died, and was succeeded by John Balderston, who was Master for nearly thirty-nine years (*ob.* August, 1719). He was a Huntingdonshire man, had been Fellow since 1665, and had served as lecturer and in other College offices. His mastership, though long, does not appear to have been either remarkable or very successful. The entrances went down ominously, once (1711) being as low as seven, and seldom being more than seventeen or twenty. The Revolution of 1688 does not appear to have had much effect upon the College, except in putting an end to the appointment of Fellows by royal mandate, three of the five elected during the reign of James II. having been thus 'recommended' to the College. This led to a curious interpretation of the statute forbidding the election of more than one Fellow from any one county. In 1687 John Browne of Kent, afterwards Rector of Wallington and a benefactor, was made Fellow by royal mandate. In 1690 one John Sidey, also of Kent, was regarded by the society as a proper person to elect. An order—signed on September 27 by seven Fellows, including Browne, though without the Master—decided that the county of a Fellow appointed by royal mandate did not prevent the *election* of a Fellow from the same county. Browne otherwise does not appear to have

enjoyed the favour of the College. His living was one of those of which the Master, and not the society, had the presentation, but in 1711 the more valuable living of North Cadbury had fallen vacant and a majority of the Fellows bestowed it upon William Piers, passing over his senior, Browne, who entered a protest in the order-book, dated January 20, 1711, on the grounds that

'it was done without any reason alleged against Mr. Browne, though often by him demanded; and contrary to the custom and practise of ye College in such cases ever since the Restoration; and, as he conceives, to the true intent and design of the Fourth Statute of the College, intituled *De probis præferendis,* etc.'

The order is cancelled by some pen, and the signature of Browne elaborately concealed by flourishes, but the appointment of Piers to North Cadbury was maintained. The objection must have been to King James's mandate, for two years earlier Henry Hanley, appointed Fellow by the mandate of Charles II., was peaceably presented to Aller.

This is nearly the only trace of the College having been directly affected by the political and dynastic change of 1688; but it must have felt the loss of support and patronage in the fall of Sancroft, who shortly before his deprivation of the archbishopric had been elected Chancellor of the University, though he had refused the office, feeling that the insecurity of his position made it unlikely that he could be of service to it. In this period, too—perhaps the least fortunate in the College history—there are signs that the social habits of the Fellows were becoming more convivial, while diminishing

means often made these habits somewhat oppressive. In the College order of March 9, 1699, it was agreed: (1) That the steward on appointment 'was to entertain ye society with six bottles of red wine, but was not to be at any farther charge, as steward, for wine or pancakes upon Shrove Tuesday or at any other time whatever.' (2) The Head Lecturer was to entertain the society with 12 quarts of red wine on the same day as he made his first speech in the College hall, but was not to be at any farther charge, as Lecturer, for breakfast or suppers, or any sort of entertainment whatever. (3) A Fellow taking the B.D. was not to be obliged to make any sort of treat or entertainment whatever, except the usual one in the hall before the clerum or Act, and a moderate dinner in the hall after his clerum. In 1723 (under Savage) the stewardship is said to have been augmented, and the steward is consequently required to give '12 quarts of red wine and a pound of tobacco.' This is the first indication of smoking in the parlour, which, according to Gunning, remained a special feature of the Emmanuel common-room—at any rate to the end of the century. In 1747 four Fellows signed an order exempting Dean, Steward, and Lecturer from these entertainments, but a rider in Richardson's upright handwriting declares: 'This order and agreement being made, entered, and signed in an irregular manner in my absence, I do declare it to be null and void.' Hurd is one of the four signatories, and Richardson's disagreement with the Fellows, we shall see, was frequent.

Another indication of money difficulties in the society is an order of April 10, 1700, providing for the

'sequesting' of Fellowships for debts to the stewards reaching over more than two quarters. Another quarrel in the society which put the Master and four seniors on one side, and the rest of the Fellows on the other, concerned the sizars. The two rival orders will serve to illustrate the position of these persons, who were really expected to render menial services in return for their maintenance and education. The first is signed by seven Fellows, and is dated December 23, 1707:

'Whereas a custom has prevailed for the 4 junior Fellows to pay each yearly 40^{s} for the hiring themselves a sisar, which by experience has been found a great grievance; and whereas there is from statute an equal right to all ye 12 fellows of ye foundation in ye service of ye Sisars appointed to serve at ye fellows table: We the majority of the Fellows, for prevention of the like inconvenience for the future, do agree and resolve that the four junior sisars, who are in waiting, shall serve the four Junior Fellows, and lay their knife, fork, napkin etc. ad mensam Sociorum, in the same manner as they serve any of the Senior Fellows, without any other allowance for such their service than is allotted by the statute.'

On the opposite page is a counter-order signed by the Master and four Fellows:

'The Master and four senior fellows, tho they do agree that four of the Sisars belonging to the eight senior fellows shall bring into and take out of the Hall ye stoops, knives and napkins of ye four Junior Fellows gratis, yet they cannot assent to and subscribe ye order of ye 23rd of December 1707 as it is drawn up on ye opposite side for ye following reasons:

'1st. Because it is therein asserted that ye four junior

fellows have a right by statute to ye services of ye sisars in ye case mentioned in that order, notwithstanding immemorial customs and practices to ye contrary: And we conceive our subscribing this article will be an implicit acknowledgement under our hand that we and all the Masters and all the eight Seniors that have ever been of the College have either been oppressors and unjust: because the acknowledgment of this article supposes we and they have either kept ye four junior Fellows from or deprived and defrauded them of their statutable right.

'2nd. Because this order postpones ye seniority among ye Fellows to ye seniority among ye scholars, which we think is not fair and equal, and directly contrary to ye customs of ye College, and it may be not altogether agreeable to ye statutes, which in cases of privilege give ye preference to ye seniors.'

As the seniors yield the chief point at issue, it seems scarcely to have been worth while to insert this protest and to give such very obscure and weak reasons.

Whether it was financial embarrassment or the accumulation of duplicates in the library that prompted the next order signed by Balderston (March 20, 1712), we cannot be sure, but on that date Mr. Jefferey is authorized 'to sell such books belonging to the library as the society thinks fit to part with,' and an order of January 17, 1716, seems to imply that the proceeds amounted to £200, which were 'to be put out for ye use of ye Library.' Between these two dates another order (March 10, 1715) speaks of losses to the College owing to the bankruptcy of the tenant of the Brewhouse (in the paddock), and the need of redeeming the various vessels in it seized by the Excise officers;

again, owing to the steward (Potter) dying in debt to the College; and, lastly, owing to the imminent need of extensive repairs to the buildings. In consequence of these losses, two Fellowships already vacant, and three more shortly to become so, are not to be filled up. Accordingly, for some years to come the number of Fellows signing orders never exceeds eight. Serious consideration seems at once to have been given to the dilapidations of the College buildings, with the result that the last order signed by Balderston (August 7, 1719) declares it 'necessary to pull down that part of the College called ye Founders range,' and appoints two of the Fellows (Whitaker and Whitehead) to superintend the work and pay the workmen. Not many days after this, Balderston, having retired to Peterborough, of which he was a Prebend, died at his residence there (August 28, 1719).

One other order signed by him is of more than common interest. It is dated January 17, 1716-17: 'Whereas Mr. Law's fellowship was by act of parliament vacated in January last year upon his refusal to take the oaths mentioned in ye said act, Dr. Fletcher was elected into his place on the 31st day of August last.' This is the celebrated William Law, author of the *Serious Call* and numerous other theological works. He had once before been suspended from his degrees (1713) for a sermon which favoured the Pretender, and on the accession of George I. declined the oath of allegiance and abjuration. From 1727 to 1737 he lived much at Putney, first as tutor to Edward Gibbon, father of the historian, whom he accompanied to Cambridge when he entered Emmanuel in 1727, and

afterwards as 'the much-honoured friend and spiritual director of the whole family.' Law was elected Fellow in 1711, but seems to have resided very little, and his name appears at the foot of no College order. During his second residence, as tutor of Gibbon, he of course was no longer one of the governing body. He resided finally at his native village of King's Cliffe, near Stamford, accompanied by Mrs. Hutcheson and Miss Gibbon, who formed with him a kind of religious community, and between them they erected almshouses and schools. He died April 9, 1761. The next year his collected works were published in nine volumes. They had great influence on many of the early Evangelicals, including the Wesleys and Whitfield.

Quite a different character was Joshua Barnes, who entered the College from Christ's Hospital in 1671, became Fellow in 1678, and Greek Professor in 1695. He was a most indefatigable writer on many subjects in English, Greek, and Latin. His English *History of Edward III.* never had much success, and has long since been forgotten. A long Latin poem on his wars, *Franciados*, on the model of the *Æneid*, was never published, though two MS. copies of it, extending to eight books, are in the College library. He wrote some plays —which also remain in MS.—and a small book called *Gerania*, which is in some degree a precursor of Swift's Lilliput, and a paraphrase of the Book of Esther in Greek verse. He wrote Greek verse with ease, though sometimes without much correctness, and many epigrams are preserved in the library addressed to his brother Fellows, the Master, and others. His chief works, however, were editions of Euripides (1694), Anacreon (1705),

and Homer (1710). The first is a sumptuous book, and has many merits, but it, unfortunately, involved him in a controversy with Bentley as to the genuineness of certain epistles of Euripides, which he ventured to print. Monk, in his Life of Bentley (vol. i., pp. 52-54), of course defends his hero, and says that his criticisms are in 'a lively and playful strain.' However that may be (the letter is printed in the *Museum Criticum*, ii. 405), the reasons alleged by Bentley are not as weighty and convincing as Monk seems to think. At any rate, Barnes printed the letters, and characterized anyone who doubted their genuineness as either 'impudent or foolish' ('perfrictæ frontis aut iudicii imminuti), which Monk accounts for by supposing that Barnes was so strong a Jacobite as to 'regard with contempt the opinions and scholarship of a person patronized by the deliverer's government.' If Bentley had been as polite and reasonable as Monk asserts on this occasion, he made up for it in 1710, when Barnes published his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In his preface he complains of the envy and neglect of his contemporaries, and especially of one Zoilus, whom he calls *homo inimicus*. This was supposed to mean Bentley, who retaliated in a letter to Davies (Monk's *Bentley*, i., p. 293), conceived in his most brutal vein. Poor Barnes did not long survive. His *Homer*, published at his own, or, rather, his wife's risk, proved a failure, and he died in considerable distress August 3, 1712. His epitaph in Hemingford churchyard calls him πολύτεχνος and Δογογρύφων φέριστος ἄνθος τε τῶν ἀοιδ ὠν τῶν ἱστόρων μέγιστος καὶ ρητόρων ἄριστος καὶ μαντέων βάθιστος βρεταννικῆς ἀρούρης.

A greater scholar than Barnes was Richard Dawes,

who entered the College as a sizar in 1725, and was elected a Dixie Fellow in 1731, being a native of Market Bosworth and educated at the school there. He, too, broke many a lance with Bentley, whom he attacked alive and dead in his *Miscellanea Critica* (1745). But Dawes was in other respects neither a successful nor a reputable man. His career as Master of the grammar-school at Newcastle was unfortunate, and he died almost insane (1766).

Edward Chandler (M.A. 1693), after holding numerous preferments, became Bishop of Lichfield in 1717, and of Durham in 1730. He had some reputation in his day as a controversialist, especially as against the Deistic writings of William Collins. He is said to have accumulated a large fortune by his Church preferments, and was also accused of having given a large sum for the see of Durham. He died in 1750. Another divine of some distinction was Richard Arnald, elected Fellow from Corpus in 1720, and presented in 1733 to Thurcaston. He was the author, among other things, of a commentary on the Apocrypha, which is still held in esteem.

CHAPTER VII

MASTERSHIPS OF WILLIAM SAVAGE (1719 - 1736), AND WILLIAM RICHARDSON (1736-1775)

On the death of Balderston on August 28, 1719, the Fellows elected George Thorpe, D.D., as Master. He had been elected to a Fellowship from Caius in 1663, one of the six selected under Sancroft's influence, with the direct purpose of modifying the Puritanical character of the College. He does not appear to have resided long, and he had since been Rector of Bishop's Bourn in Kent and Prebendary of Canterbury. He is best known in College as the founder of the Thorpe Scholarships, for which he was for many years (and till about ten years ago) specially commemorated on the 'Thorpe Day,' in the October term. The founder's cup was passed round after dinner, each member standing to drink the port-wine in it with the words, 'In piam memoriam fundatoris nostri et benefactorum nostrorum, præcipue Doctoris Thorpe.' Under the new arrangement of an annual commemoration his name no longer figures so prominently. Thorpe declined the mastership, probably on account of his age, for, as he took his M.A. degree in 1660, he must now have been at least eighty. There-

upon the Fellows elected William Savage, a much younger man, for he was M.A. and Fellow in 1692. Savage was born at Ickleford in Hertfordshire, was Rector of Gravesend and Stone in Kent, and had taken his D.D. degree in 1717. He was admitted Master on September 26, 1719, but resigned in the following year in order to be presented to the living of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, thus evading the statute forbidding the Master accepting preferment, and he was readmitted on November 4, 1720. Two leaves have been torn from the order-book referring to the early months of this year, which might perhaps have thrown some light on the subject. He appears to have been absent in London much of his first year of office. There is an order of November 4, 1719, granting him special leave: 'It being highly necessary that the Master should be in London this winter to sollicite the urgent affairs of the College.'

Whatever these urgent affairs were, whether connected with the subscriptions to the new buildings* or with suits at law, he may have seen reason to prefer residence in his London living. The numbers were fairly maintained during his mastership, averaging about twenty-five entries in the year, and he does not appear to have had much trouble in regard to discipline, only two undergraduates being recorded as admonished by him, one 'for notorious deceit put upon his Tutor,' and another 'for a very gross immorality committed by him.' But there are

* The new buildings on the site of the Founder's Range, ordered just before Balderston's death, were ready for use in 1722, and subscriptions were obtained amounting to £2,386 and over, of which Lord Westmorland gave £500.

two entries of an extraordinary character, which would seem to show that he had difficulties to contend with among the Fellows. The first is dated August 24, 1725: 'Mr. Fuller, senior fellow and dean of the College, was admonished by the master in the presence of all the Fellows then in College for great offences he was guilty of.' Whatever this peccant Dean had done or left undone, the admonition does not seem to have had much effect, for on November 11, 1726, we again read:

'Mr. Fuller being summoned did appear before the Master and Senior Fellows and Dean, and the Master proceeded to admonish him for his irregular behaviour and notorious neglect of duty. Upon this admonition he behaved himself in a very insolent outrageous manner, and upon the Master mentioning that he admonished him according to the direction of the Statutes he replied, A f—t for your admonition, and used other contemptuous language.'

After this Savage seems to have given up admonishing anybody. But Fuller was in some way got rid of, for he ceases to sign College orders, which are now more regularly entered in the book, in accordance with a special order to that effect dated March 24, 1720. Robert Fuller, a native of King's Lynn, had been a Fellow since 1719, having entered the College in 1712, one of the leanest years in the College history, when there were only nine admissions. He seems to have remained in residence till the October term of 1726, and, as he was Dean in the previous year, he must have been in Holy Orders; but I cannot trace his after-career, nor is there any indication of the misdemeanours which

brought down upon him the second solemn admonition. He must have ceased to be Fellow before January, 1729, when another Norfolk Fellow was elected.

During the rest of the mastership of Savage, the chief signs of animation in the College is an increased care for the library. A code of rules as to the borrowing of books, the entries to be made, and the duties of the Librarian, especially as to cataloguing the books and providing writing materials, was confirmed on November 4, 1719. Two years later (April 10, 1721) an order was passed for buying books with the money due to the library from 'Commencing Batchelors and Masters of Arts,' instead of leaving it in the hands of the steward, to be spent in other ways. In the next year, however, an order was found necessary for calling in all books and instituting a strict investigation of the state of the library. Apparently, the Librarian was paid so small a salary that he did not find it worth while to do much in his office, for in 1724 a payment of two shillings a quarter by every Fellow-commoner, one shilling by every pensioner, and sixpence by every sizar, was ordered, to raise the Librarian's stipend to £10 per annum, the balance to be used for other purposes in the library; and in 1731 an order forbids the taking out of certain books of reference at all, and limits the time for keeping other books to one month, under a fine of five shillings.

Another department of the College equipment which received some attention was the plate. An order was passed in 1719 to limit the issuing of plate to members of the College for their use, and to forbid anyone 'to set upon or over the fire any

silver drinking-pots or plates belonging to ye College for ye heating or warming of any liquor, or for any other purpose'; and another, in 1723, directs that everyone taking out plate must give a written receipt for it, and return it clean. Next year an order alludes to the breach of an ancient custom of the College by Fellow-commoners not giving a piece of plate. They are to do so in future through their Tutor, to the value of £6: an order confirmed in 1730, with the proviso that it is to be done within six months of admission. This practice accounts for much now in possession of the College. But that much is of comparatively recent date is partly explained by an order of February 8, 1719-20, for the 'exchange of 121 ounces 10 pennyweight for new and more useful utensils.' A considerable amount also was lost by a burglary in 1723, and some more in 1800 by the same means.

The College seems in this period to have had some difficulty with a very important officer, the butler, as to the percentages charged by him on bread and other provisions. This culminated in the 'removal' of the manciple or butler in February, 1726, and before the election of a new one certain conditions were laid down: The new butler was to give £100 security, was to be content with 5 per cent. on the price of bread sold in the buttery, and was to charge only the market price for coals, and give full measure. If the butler had been unsatisfactory, so had the bedmakers. They seem to have been appointed at haphazard, either by the Tutors or undergraduates, and an order of October 28, 1735, remarks that 'owing to the number lately serving in the College many things

have been lost and other inconveniences have arisen.' It is therefore agreed that in future no one is to be brought as bedmaker into the College without the consent and approbation of the Master and Fellows.

About this time also the College had to deal with the matter of the Gillingham Fellowship, founded in 1728 by the will of Mr. Gillingham, as interpreted by a decree of Chancery. It was to be additional to the existing twelve, and to be paid by the estate left expressly for it. An order of April 19, 1732, directs that it should be offered to the senior foundation Fellows in turn, and that the holder should have all the privileges of a foundation Fellow, but not 'any share of the usual constant and standing profits and emoluments' of the remaining twelve. This order, however, was revoked upon a vacancy occurring in 1751, under legal advice, and a candidate outside the society was elected in the ordinary way. This continued till the revision of 1861, when the Fellowship was abolished, and the income of the Gillingham foundation was carried to the general funds of the College.

Savage died on August 1, 1736, and on the 10th of the same month the Fellows elected William Richardson, D.D. He had been a scholar, but not a Fellow, of the College. He was, however, the son of a former Fellow, John Richardson (1674-1685), who was presented to North Luffenham in 1685, and, being deprived as a non-juror in 1690, retired to Withamstead in Bedfordshire, and occupied himself in composing a learned reply to the deist Toland. His son William was born there in 1698, and at the time of his election to the mastership was a Prebendary and Precentor of

Lincoln. He had been residing in Cambridge in order to consult the libraries for his chief work, an edition of Godwin's *De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarii* (1743), and in 1735 had taken his Doctor's degree and had become a F.S.A. His election seems to have been a surprise to himself, and was effected without consulting him. During his mastership he kept up his antiquarian habits, and set laboriously to work to compile a register, not only of his own College, but of the other Colleges also. The book of 'admissions,' including lists of Master and Fellows from the earliest times, now in the College treasury, embraces King's Hall and Michael House—afterwards combined in Trinity—St. John's, King's, Eton, Pembroke, and a statistical comparison of the Colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. It is very careful and neat, and must have cost him great labour. For Emmanuel it stops at 1734, but as far as it goes it was the foundation of 'Bennet's Book,' and is of great value. As a ruler of the College he must have been exceedingly businesslike and able, but—as his portrait would seem to show—neither genial nor conciliatory.

The order-book carefully kept during his mastership, and mostly in his own clear and upright handwriting, bears ample testimony to his activity and ability; but it also contains the record of more than one contest between him and a large part of the Fellows, leading to written protests, and sometimes to references to external arbitrators. This is partly to be accounted for by the autocratic position of the Master. The funds of the College were almost entirely in his hands. He was practically Bursar as well as Master, and when the

bursarship became important and regularly filled up, the expression used at first was, 'The office of Bursar was *delegated* by the Master to so and so.' This first occurs after Cory's election in 1797, but in previous masterships the office was not important, and until 1756 was unpaid. An order of May 5 in that year assigns £20 a year to him for the future 'in consideration of his trouble.' It was not, however, till forty-eight years later that it was raised to £40 (October 26, 1804), at which sum it remained for fourteen years, when it was doubled (1818). Still, it was looked upon as naturally attaching to the mastership, and in 1809 the Master is compensated by £60 a year as long as he delegates the office.

The increased importance of the bursarship began with the closing years of Farmer's mastership, who was a poor man of business, and left the accounts between himself and the College in such confusion that the Bursar (Tyson) had the greatest difficulty in coming to a settlement with his heirs. A College order of June 20, 1799, requests Tyson (who had just taken a living) to accept a piece of plate of twenty guineas value in consideration of the extraordinary trouble which he experienced in settling the accounts of the College with the administrator of the late Master, as well as his zealous attention to the interests of the society on other occasions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Fellows after Farmer's death wished the bursarship to be separated from the mastership.

But in Richardson's time the Master still held the money of the society, and represented it in all matters of business. Nor did he prove unfaithful or unskilful.

He at once took drastic measures to recover the finances of the College. Among the earliest orders signed by him (February 5, 1737) is one to suspend the election to Fellowships till the number is reduced to seven, owing to lawsuits and debts contracted for rebuilding the Founder's Range and other causes. Two years later, though three Fellowships were filled up, three were still suspended. But in 1742 an order of December 2 declares the College debt to be 'considerably diminished,' and in 1745 an order of April 15 declares the College to be entirely out of debt, and directs the two vacant Fellowships to be filled up. About this time, accordingly, some minor improvements were made. In 1745 money was given by a Mr. Barlow for the use of the gardens, with which the bath was constructed, and money which had been borrowed from the library was repaid, and the interest devoted to its use. But though the state of the revenue was satisfactory, there seems to have been some difficulty in meeting extraordinary expenses. An order of June 22, 1752, affirms the necessity of rebuilding the butteries and contiguous buildings, which had become 'very ruinous.' Mr. Burroughs is to be desired to prepare a plan, Mr. Devie (who managed the supply of coal) is to be associated with the Master in carrying out the plan, and a hope is expressed that the expenses will be in part, at least, met by benefactions. But either the benefactions were slow in coming in, or other needs intervened.

In 1760 the alterations in the hall, according to the plan of Essex, were agreed to, and in 1762 there is an order for borrowing £300 to meet the 'considerable reparations and other works' going on, and because the

public stocks were so low as to make it imprudent to sell out (order-book, February 3, 1762). Meanwhile Mr. Devie had gone off to Standground and Farcet (1766), and three years later (March 11, 1769) a College order again records the ruinous condition of the buildings 'opposite the chappel,' and directs that 'the butteries and buildings running from thence to the street be immediately pulled down, and rebuilt according to the plan drawn by Sir James Burroughs some years since.' The actual work, however, was not begun at once, and a new plan drawn by Essex was accepted on July 5, 1769, and was ordered to be carried into execution 'when the College shall be enabled to do it.' Probably some disputes arose as to the method of raising money. Over £2,800 had been received from subscriptions for the new building, but when the last payments came to be made in the year after Richardson's death, a heavier debt existed than the College could meet by its ordinary income. An order of November 17, 1770, for borrowing £200 is marked by the Master 'Not done'; but on January 24, 1772, there is an order for selling out £700 Bank consolidated annuities; on March 14, 1773, the Master is empowered to borrow £500 on lives for the new building; and on March 16, 1776, a College order declares an *insigne detrimentum* occasioned by the expenses attending the erection of the new building, and suspends election to Fellowships. In 1778, however, came a considerable legacy from Hubbard, by which an order of May 13 declares the College income to be 'considerably increased.' The Master received an additional £40 a year, each of the four senior Fellows £10. The *insigne*

detrimentum was pronounced at an end, and the society went on almost immediately to elect four Fellows. Another heavy sum which the College was called upon to find about the same time was over £1,100 for the enclosure of the Manor of Shernbourn in Norfolk (the Ash Estate). This money was advanced by a late Fellow R. Richardson (son of the Master), who was not paid off finally till December, 1778. But the Master, William Richardson, seemed to have steered the College skilfully through these difficulties, and the value of its property continued steadily to increase.

In the matter of discipline he would seem to have found it necessary to use a somewhat tighter hand than his predecessor. The number of admonitions, perhaps, is not excessive (32 in 40 years), though rather above the average; but they are generally for more serious offences: drunkenness, staying out one or more nights, entertaining immoral persons in College rooms,* and once, at least, for a criminal assault upon a woman by a scholar—a case which even found its way into the law-courts, and is twice noted: once in the order-book, suspending the offender from his scholarship; and later on in the admonition-book, recording his expulsion. Two orders of October, 1740, also refer to 'the imprudence of young scholars in contracting debts with persons of the town.' The first order threatens any servant of the College with loss of his place if he trusts undergraduates and then arrests them for debt without leave from the

* A College order of November 23, 1739, offers a reward of £5 to anyone who shall discover such a person in any chamber of the College.

society; the second threatens a scholar with admonition or rustication for contracting a debt of 20 shillings at alehouses or inns, or with any tradesman without the knowledge of his Tutor. The quarrel as to the relief of the Dean, Lecturer, and Steward from treating the society to wine and tobacco on the day of their election (in the course of which Richardson solemnly revoked an order signed by four Fellows) was settled a fortnight later (May 25, 1747) by a regular order, signed by him and four Fellows, abolishing the practice.

These were yearly offices, but in this century a change had come upon the system of managing the undergraduates, partly, perhaps, because of the reduced numbers, namely, by the appointment of a single or Senior Tutor. Up to the end of the seventeenth century it seems that any of the Fellows could act as Tutor to one or more undergraduates. They were not formally appointed, and were only recognised as the Tutors of such and such men. As late as the first quarter of the eighteenth century the appointment of a 'Tutor of the College' is not entered in the order-book with the other officers. The Master probably assigned the men to him, and he thus became sole Tutor. John Wilkinson (Fellow 1728), afterwards Rector of Wallington and Master of the Birmingham School, seems to have been the first to occupy that position, in which he was succeeded by Henry Hubbard in 1736. Hubbard remained Tutor till 1767, and this long tenure of the tutorial duties doubtless helped to confirm the arrangement. He was a Suffolk man, elected Fellow in 1732, and was Lady Margaret Preacher, and University Registrary from 1758 to his

death in 1778. He has left a very complete record of his tutorship, from which a good idea of the state of the College — then at a very low ebb — may be collected.

He had been a Conduct Fellow of St. Catharine's, where his brother Edward was one of the senior Fellows, but was afterwards elected to a Fellowship at Emmanuel; four years later he was appointed to the tutorship, which he held for thirty-one years, handing it over to Dr. Farmer in October, 1767. His long and active tutorship, and the benefactions which he left at his death, have combined to make him a considerable figure in the domestic history of the College. Although he published nothing except one Charity sermon, he was an active and accurate penman, and among the books which he bequeathed to the library were a number of volumes of MS. collections, which are still preserved in the library and the treasury. Among these there are an elaborate catalogue of his own books, a copy of the College statutes with extracts from early order-books and other sources, a copy of the University statutes, a copy of Buck's *Book of University Ceremonies and Precedents*, a copy of Hare's *Collection of University Charters and other Documents*, his accounts as Steward of the College, and a book entitled *A Book of Accounts*.

This last contains a list of all admissions of undergraduates from January, 1733, to July, 1767. The entries are brief for the first year or two, but from 1736 onward (that is, during the period of Hubbard's tutorship) the list gives much more information than any other early admission-book which has been preserved.

The following may be taken as a typical entry: '1753, Richard, son of Richard Farmer, Woolman and Malster, born at Leicester, educated at Leicester School, Mr. Andrewes M^{r}, aetat. 19, Pens^{r}.' There is a full account of the caution money received and returned by Hubbard as Tutor from October 18, 1736, when he took over his pupils from his predecessor, Wilkinson, until October 3, 1767, when what caution money he had in hand was handed over to his successor, Farmer. In a statement of the amount of tuition fees received in each year of his tutorship from 1735 to 1742 the names of his pupils are given. There are, further, statements of the receipts from his Fellowship from 1732 to 1744, of his income as Steward (a yearly office) 1737-38, 1743-44, and 1758-59, of his income as Lecturer 1737-38 and 1743-44, as Dean 1737-38, 1744-45, and 1758-59, and as Father (Prælector) 1736-37. He held various University offices in his time, and has included in his *Book of Accounts* a statement of his receipts as Moderator 1732-33 and 1734-35, as Taxor 1733-34 and 1735-36, and as Scrutator 1744-45 and 1757-58. Lastly there are included the detailed accounts of the Registrary's office from July, 1758, to October, 1772.

Taking the thirty-five years from 1733 to 1767, we find on Hubbard's list of admissions a total of 334 names, giving an average of 9·5 admissions per year. The largest number of admissions in any one year was 18, in 1759; the smallest, 1, in 1756. It ought, however, to be remembered that these numbers do not necessarily represent the number of freshmen actually coming into residence in the years named, as in many cases names were entered on the boards some

considerable time before residence began. The numbers in residence are also increased by the incorporation of Bachelors from Oxford, which explains the divergence between the numbers given by Hubbard and those given by Bennet. In Bennet's register the number of admissions for the same thirty-five years amounts to 376, an average of 10·7 per year, or 1 a year more than Hubbard's. But in Bennet's list we find 3 Bachelors from Oxford in 1737, 3 in 1760, and 3 again in 1761; while there are 2 of them in the lean year, 1756. The incorporation of Bachelors from Oxford was caused by the fact that at Oxford it was necessary to sign the Thirty-nine Articles for the M.A. degree, which it was not necessary to do at Cambridge.

In the quarterly statement of tuition fees Hubbard includes all those in residence other than Fellows of the College, although no fees seem to have been charged to Master and Doctors. In the quarter ending Lady Day, 1743, there are resident 5 Fellow-commoners, 6 Bachelors, 8 scholars, 13 pensioners, and 13 sizars, or 45 in all; for the quarter ending Lady Day, 1753, the numbers are 1 Doctor of Medicine, 5 Fellow-commoners, 3 Bachelors, 5 scholars, 19 pensioners, and 5 sizars, or 38 in all; and for the quarter ending Lady Day, 1763, 1 Doctor of Medicine, 2 Masters of Arts, 10 Fellow-commoners, 3 Bachelors, 12 pensioners, and 6 sizars, or 40 in all. For the twenty-four years from 1743 to 1766 the average number of residents, other than Fellows, was 43, although the number fell as low as 30 in 1751.

Of the 334 undergraduates enrolled in Hubbard's admission-register in the years from 1733 to 1767, as

many as 254 have the names of their schools recorded. During that time 18 entered from Oakham School, 18 from Bury St. Edmunds, 16 from Eton, 15 from Nuneaton, 14 from Westminster, and 11 from Leicester. The connexion with Oakham School was probably due to the existence of the Johnson Exhibitions, but Uppingham, which is also included in the Johnson Foundation, sent only 2 in the thirty-five years. Bury St. Edmunds was evidently at that time the leading school for Norfolk and Suffolk, from which Emmanuel has always been largely recruited; but it had evidently also a wider fame, as a fair proportion of the 18 from Bury were sons of professional men in London. Nuneaton owes its position in the list to the influence of Mr. Thomas Liptrot, the Headmaster, who was elected a Fellow of Emmanuel in 1732, and soon after was appointed to that school.

Next in order of the schools come Market Street (near Luton) and Dedham (Essex), with 7 each, Repton with 6, and Mitcham with 5. It may be mentioned that of the 5 from Mitcham 3 are born in Barbadoes, the sons respectively of the Hon. Walter Caddell, Treasurer of the island, of Samuel Adams, Esq., and of John Thomas, merchant. A fourth was Edward Evanson, the son of Thomas Evanson, mercer, of Warrington, and a nephew of Mr. Evanson, the Headmaster of Mitcham. Edward Evanson, whose age, on admission in 1746, is entered as '15 next April,' became later on a noted theological controversialist, and was deprived of his preferment in the Church 'for omitting part of the Litany and delivering doctrines against the Incarnation.' He was for a time an

assistant-master in his uncle's school at Mitcham, and after leaving the Church he himself carried on a successful school there.

Eight schools sent each 4 representatives to Emmanuel in these thirty-five years: Harrow, Felstead, Winchester, Sherborn, Market Bosworth, Norwich, Ipswich, and Brewood (Staffs). John Gayland, the Headmaster of Sherborn, was elected a Fellow of Emmanuel in 1713, was presented to the College living of Winsford in Somerset in 1714, and was soon after appointed to Sherborn, where he died in 1743.

Nine schools sent 3 each, among them Newcastle —where Richard Dawes was Master—Derby, Bishop Stortford, and Clitheroe; while among the seventeen schools which are represented by 2 entries appear St. Paul's, Charterhouse, Tunbridge, Merchant Taylors', Uppingham, and Wakefield. Forty-four schools appear with one representative only—many of them no doubt small grammar-schools, many probably private schools, but on this list also appear Rugby and Sedbergh.

Another point of interest is the geographical distribution of the members of the College at this time. We can assign the native county to 300 out of the 334 on Mr. Hubbard's list. A rough classification of the counties gives the following result:

Midland Counties, 95: Leicester 42, Stafford 13, Derby 10, Notts 9, Northants 9, Warwick 5, Rutland 4, Oxford 1, Bucks 1, and Berks 1.

Eastern Counties, 77: Suffolk 28, Lincoln 14, Norfolk 11, Hunts 6, Hertford 6, Essex 4, Cambridge 4, and Bedford 4.

Middlesex, 53.

Northern Counties, 27: Yorks 12, Lancashire 6, Northumberland 4, Westmorland 2, Cumberland 2, and Durham 1.

South-Western Counties, 18: Somerset 6, Dorset 5, Devon 4, Wilts 2, and Cornwall 1.

South-Eastern Counties, 17: Kent 8, Surrey 6, and Sussex 3.

West Indies, 5: Barbadoes 3, Jamaica 1, Antigua (Antegoa) 1.

Scotland, 2.

India, 2: Bombay.

Ireland, 1.

Wales, 1: Denbigh.

Portugal, 1: Lisbon.

America, 1: Maryland.

It is not easy to explain the predominance of the Midland counties in this list, but probably one of the causes was the existence of special relations with the schools or schoolmasters at Oakham, Nuneaton, and Leicester.

The entry relating to the solitary representative from Cornwall is worth quoting. It is:

'1738, July 7. John Taperall, born in Cornwall, an exciseman, 27 years old, formerly of Exeter College, Sizar. N.B. This person was admitted in an hurry to save the year, but upon further talking with him I had some reason to think him a little disordered in his senses, and therefore advised to take out his name, which he did ye next day.'

Another instance of hurry 'to save the year' is to be found in 1739, when on July 6 Neville King was

admitted 'before ye Bell rang,' but John Adcock on the same day was admitted 'after ye Bell rang.'

The usual age for admission was seventeen or eighteen, but one or two were entered at an earlier age. Edward Evanson, who was to be '15 next April,' has already been mentioned, and the following entry occurs in 1745: 'Sept. 26, Robert, Son of ye Rev. Dr William Richardson, Master of Emmanuel College, born in London, Middlesex, educated at Westminster School, Dr Nichols, Master, anno aetat. 15to.'

In one case at least Hubbard was Tutor to both father and son. On July 6, 1735, Mr. John Hind Cotton was admitted as Fellow-commoner. This was just a year before Hubbard took up the office, and in 1766, a year before he laid it down, he admitted 'John, son of Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart., born in St. James' Parish, Westminster, educated at Westminster School, Dr South M^r^, aet. 18.'

Nonconformists, though not unknown, were rare in the University in those days, and the form in which Hubbard recorded the admission of Edward Calamy is some evidence of this. In 1763, on September 30, there was admitted as Fellow-commoner 'Edmund, son of Edward Calamy (a Non-conformist Divine), born in Middlesex, educated at Warrington, Lancashire, Mr Akin M^r^, aetat. 21.' Bennet, who was admitted to Emmanuel in the same year as Calamy, notes him in the register which he afterwards compiled, as the grandson of the celebrated Puritan. Calamy—who was afterwards a barrister at Lincoln's Inn—was, in fact, the fifth Edmund in the direct line of descent; the first

(1600-1666) was a noted disputant in the days of the Parliament, and was one of the authors of Smectymnuus. He was a Pembroke man. His grandson, the grandfather of our Edmund, was the well-known historian of Nonconformity. The sixth Edmund Calamy, son of the barrister, was born in 1780, and died in 1850.

According to Hubbard, the stipend of an ordinary Fellow of the College from the general revenues of the College was £5 in each half-year. The four senior Fellows had an additional £3 in each half-year from the Pinchbeck Estates. The revenues from certain trust estates, as those left by Dean Sudbury and Dr. Whichcote, and the annual payment by the Borough of Lynn, are divided in four proportions between the Master, the Fellows, and the Scholars. Fines for the renewal of leases and sealing fees are also divided. Under the old leases several of the College tenants are obliged to furnish to the College a certain quantity of corn or a certain number of capons, usually four in the half-year, or to pay an equivalent, at half a crown a capon in cash. This was called 'capon money,' and was similarly divided. The revenue from underwoods at Gransden and Ellerby was also kept separate, and dealt with in this way; and the admission fees, the buttery profits, and certain payments made by Bachelors on attaining their degrees, were also divided. These explanations may help to make Hubbard's statement of his income intelligible:

FELLOWSHIP INCOME.

1734. *To Easter Audit* 1735.

	£	s.	d.
Div^{d} of Whichcot & Sudbury to Michs. last	0	17	11
Thorpe's Commemoration	0	5	0
Div^{d} of Day's Fine & Sealing Fees ...	0	15	6
B.A.'s Priorum	0	19	2
Div^{d} of Wood Money to Michs. last ...	0	17	7
Div^{d} of Kettle's Fine & Fees ...	2	0	0
Div^{d} of Whichcot & Sudbury to L. Day	0	17	11
Div^{d} of Admission, Capon, & Lynn Money	1	11	1
Stipend	5	0	0
Div^{d} in ye Butteries Michs. Q^{r} 1734 ...	1	4	11
do. Xmas. Q^{r} 1734 ...	1	7	3
Increment for ye last year	1	1	1
	16	16	11

To Michs. Audit 1735.

Corn Money to Michs. last	1	11	6
Div^{d} in ye Butteries Easter Q^{r} 1735 ...	0	13	2
do. Mids^{r} Q^{r} 1735 ...	0	13	2
Div^{d} of Admissions, Capon and Lynn Money	1	4	6
Stipend	5	0	0
M.A.'s Money, &c.	3	9	2
Year's Fellowship besides Commons	30	4	10

To this in the year in question was added stipend as Sub-Lecturer £1, and for reading in chapel £5 12s. The offices of Dean, of Head Lecturer, and of Steward, were circulating offices, and brought, from time to time,

considerable additions to the Fellow's income. Thus, for the year 1738 Mr. Hubbard's summing is:

	£	s.	d.
Year's Fellowship	37	8	2
Reading in Chapel	3	0	0
Steward's Place, ending March 1, 1737	19	17	6
Lecturer's Place, ending Oct. 1, 1738	19	12	0
Dean's Place, ending Oct. 1, 1738 ...	19	1	8
Library Keeper	10	0	0
	108	19	4

Hubbard has left a complete statement of his income from all these sources for each year from 1732 to 1733. His average income as Fellow during that time was less than £38 a year. It was as much as £50 in 1769 and in 1773, and sank as low as £28 6s. 7d. in 1748. In 1764 it increased suddenly to £48 10s. 4½d., a circumstance which is alluded to in Bennet's note quoted below. Though this seems very small, it is not so when compared with the whole College income. In a letter of Dillingham's to Sancroft of 1665, he mentions that at the time of the Ash benefaction (1654) the revenues of the College amounted to £550. Nor does it seem to have risen much in the next 100 years, for in a statement of income for taxation in April, 1799, it 'was estimated, according to the directions of 39 George III., that the sum of forty-eight pounds is not less than one tenth thereof.' The first indication of a substantial advance is in 1822, when, owing to 'the progressive improvement of the income of ye College,' the Master received an additional £120 and each Fellow £30 per annum.

Hubbard also held the Algebra Lecturership from 1746 to 1768, with a stipend of about £24. He was Steward thrice, Dean thrice, Lecturer twice, Prælector once. As an instance of the care with which he kept these accounts, it may be mentioned that in 1763 appears the first entry of a receipt of 1s. 8d. for 'Visiting.' To this entry there is the following note: 'N.B. I have not brought this article to account in this book before, but deducted it for Pocket Expenses.' During a part of 1741 he records that he was allowed £1 for commons 'as being in College, but obliged to live at Catherine Hall.' The reason of his temporary exile does not appear, but he was actively engaged in College business throughout the year, and signed all the orders.

Reference has been made to the dividend arising from profits in the buttery. An entry in the order-book of date March 1, 1734, says: 'Agreed that no fellow shall be entitled to his Dividend in the Butteries, who is not in commons and actually resident the major part of the month.' Bennet in his register has a note on the 'Money divided among the Fellows from the savings in the Butteries and Degree Money for twenty years, 1760 to 1779. (N.B. The College for half this time was very thin, and the other half very full.)' He states the average for that time as £35 from the butteries and £32 from degrees, and says that the increase in 1764 was attributed to the fact that the College raised the price of beer. He goes on to say:

'By an average this makes a difference to a Resident Fellow of £10 per annum; so that supposing a Man to reside the whole twenty years he will receive an addition to his Fellowship of £200, no contemptible sum. Yet it is

curious enough that a great part of the Society are ignorant from what these Dividends arise, and whether they are imposed upon or no by the Butler in stating them.'

As to the University offices of Moderator, Taxor, and Registrary which were held by Hubbard, it is of interest to know that at Stourbridge Fair in 1730 the Taxor received £4 5s. 3d. for 'weighing Hops and measuring Mustard Seed,' that of this 15s. 4½d. was spent on 'Bottled Ale, Ale, and Small,' and 6d. in coach hire from the fair.

At the end of the volume which contains the catalogue of his books, Mr. Hubbard entered a careful inventory of the furniture of his College rooms. The list includes:

'Picture of Mr. Canning, by Gainsborough, valued at £5 5s., the frame £1 11s. 6d.; small picture of Mr. Canning in black and white by Ferguson, 15s.; my picture by Heines £5 5s., frame £1 11s. 6d.; a long Telescope, present from Mr. Canning, cost 2nd hand £3 3s.; cane with gold head, present from Sir Richard Chase, 1757; and a Stick with amber head mounted in silver, present from Green of Preston near Shields, 1758.'

Sir Richard Chase was an old pupil who came up from Bishop's Stortford School in 1739, the son of Richard Chase, gentleman, of Much Haddam, Hertfordshire. Mr. Canning was Hubbard's great friend, a member of Catharine Hall, where he graduated B.A. in 1728, perpetual curate of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, Rector of Harkstead and of Freston, and Vicar of Ruston. He was a keen student of local history, translated and edited the Ipswich charters, and rewrote and edited a county history, published as *The Suffolk Traveller*. He

died in 1775. Among the admissions in 1758 is recorded that of 'Richard, son of the Revd. Richard Canning, born at Ipswich, Suffolk, educated at Bury School, Mr Garnham Mr, aet. 18.' The younger Richard succeeded his father as Rector of Harkstead in 1769, and died twenty years later. A letter, which lies loose in the catalogue of Hubbard's books, refers to his will: 'And I give and bequeath to the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, my picture of the late Rev. Henry Hubbard, together with the books bequeathed by him to me.' The picture is now in the gallery.

At his death, January 23, 1778, Hubbard left £400 to provide an augmentation to the Fellowship held by the senior Fellow of the College; also £400, the interest of which is to be paid to the best proficient in classical learning among Dr. Thorpe's scholars; and £200, the interest to be added to the £6 left by Dean Sudbury, for a piece of plate to be bestowed upon the most pious and best learned of the commencing Bachelors of Arts in the College. He also made the College his residuary legatee, and thus it received some £4,000 in addition to the £1,000 given to special objects, and this, as Bennet puts it,

'by mere good fortune, for it was always Mr. Hubbard's intention (having no near relations) to have left that £1,000 only to the College, and the bulk of his fortune to his friend Mr. Canning of Ipswich, who luckily dying first the whole was left to us. The College disposed of £2,700 in increasing the Mastership £40 per annum, and the 4 Senior Fellowships £10 per annum, and applied the rest to the public uses of the College.'

CHAPTER VIII

MASTERSHIP OF RICHARD FARMER (1775-1797)

The last College order signed by Richardson is dated February 14, 1775, and before another month was over he was dead. Hubbard was elected to succeed him, but declined the office, and on March 21, 1775, Richard Farmer was unanimously elected. He was a great contrast both to his predecessor and to Hubbard, whom he had succeeded in the tutorship in 1767, for as Tutor he had a poor reputation for business habits ; he often neglected to send in his accounts, and for many years had considerable sums owing to him. But he had already attained a distinct position in the literary world outside the College. He was an F.S.A., and nine years before his election had published the work for which he is best known now—the *Essay on the Learning of Shakespear*. This essay showed an extraordinary knowledge of old English literature, and established once for all the fact that the plays could be accounted for without attributing to Shakespeare a learning which all his contemporaries denied him. His reputation was the cause of Dr. Johnson's one visit to Cambridge in 1765, of which an interesting account exists. He

was also known to have been long engaged on a history of Leicester, in which town he was born in 1735. But on his election to the mastership he returned the subscriptions and handed over the materials which he had collected to Nichols, who embodied them in his *History of Leicestershire*. Farmer held several preferments in the Church—Whitehall Preacher in 1769, Prebend and Chancellor of Lichfield in 1780, Canon of Canterbury in 1782, and of St. Paul's in 1788. In all situations of life he seems to have exhibited the same characteristics: he was careless of dress and appearance; devoted to literature, though too indolent to produce any work of importance; enthusiastic as a collector of books, yet careless as to their preservation or integrity; keen as a Churchman and Tory politician, yet never taking an active part either in Church work or politics. He refused a bishopric, and was content to enjoy the life of the combination-room and of the literary clubs. Three things it was said he loved above all else—old port, old clothes, and old books. He appears to have retained the tutorship for some years after his election to the mastership, but becoming University Librarian in 1780, he resigned the tutorship, and was succeeded by Bennet. Though thus careless and ease-loving, invincibly averse from getting out of bed or going to bed, or settling an account, his kindness and good-nature preserved the peace in College, which had so often been disturbed under his predecessors, and secured the affection and admiration of the Fellows.

The account of him given by Gunning throws some light upon the social habits of the day in the College, which had become on the one hand extremely Tory

and orthodox, and on the other noted for a certain moderate conviviality, tinged in Farmer's time, at any rate, with an interest in letters. As an illustration of the latter, it may be noted that in a list of persons helped from the offertory money collected in the chapel occurs the name of Mrs. Chatterton, mother of the unfortunate poet (1778). Dinner in those days was at half-past one or two, and a little later at three; it was after the evening supper that pipes and tobacco and cheerful conversation made the parlour of Emmanuel a favourite place of meeting. Before his mastership Farmer served the curacy of Swavesey in the manner thus described by Gunning:

'He began the service punctually at the appointed time and gave a plain practical sermon, strongly enforcing some moral duty. After service he chatted most affably with his congregation, and never failed to send some small present to such of his poor parishioners as had been kept from church by illness. After morning service he repaired to the public-house, where a mutton-chop and potatoes were soon set before him: these were quickly despatched, and immediately after the removal of the cloth, Mr. Dobson (his churchwarden) and one or two of the principal farmers, made their appearance, to whom he invariably said, "I am going to read prayers, but shall be back by the time you have made the punch." Occasionally another farmer accompanied him from church, when pipes and tobacco were in requisition until six o'clock. Taffy was then led to the door, and he conveyed his master to his rooms by half-past seven; here he found his slippers and nightcap, and taking possession of his elbow-chair, he slept till his bedmaker aroused him at nine o'clock, when resuming his

wig he started for the *Parlour,* where the fellows were in the habit of assembling on a Sunday afternoon.'

When Farmer became Master be presided over these symposia with great geniality, and the parlour was 'always open to those who loved pipes and cheerful conversation.' These gatherings were specially frequent at the end of the long vacation, when the theatre (standing where the Shakespear Tavern now is) was open for about three weeks at the time of Stourbridge Fair. Farmer constantly had a party staying at the Lodge for this festivity, and with other well-known Shakespearian scholars — such as Stevens and Malone — occupied a particular part of the pit, which thus became known as 'the critics' row.' They came nearly every day, stopped to the end, and then walked to the Emmanuel parlour, and finished the evening with tobacco and conversation.

The parlour had always played a great part in the social life of the College. We hear of it from the first: it was noted as a special feature of the College by John Evelyn when he visited 'that zealous house' in 1654, and it has always been, as it continues to be, the common meeting ground of the society, whether for College business or relaxation. Early in the eighteenth century, when dinner ceased to be the early noontide meal, and was taken as late as three or even four in the afternoon, it seems to have been regarded as the end of the working day by most, and was followed by a fairly prolonged session over the College port, which, in the summer at least, was followed by an adjournment to the garden and a game of bowls. It was in the

evening after supper that the members met again to talk and smoke. The daily meeting in the parlour led to a kind of organization. A body of rules was formed, which were enforced by fines, always in bottles of wine. Some of the rules are rather fantastical, but on the whole they served their purpose of keeping up a good standard of manners and preventing petty quarrels and personalities. Penalties were imposed for coming late into Hall, or with 'rolers in his hair,' for leaving bowls on the lawn, for coming into Hall in a new coat (the Lord Westmorland of the day frequently incurred this), for putting one's fork into the dish, for taking salt out of the salt-cellar with anything but the salt-spoon, for using nasty or offensive words at dinner, or taking snuff at table, or 'reflecting' on a member of the parlour, and other such social offences. Bets (always in bottles of wine) were also of nearly daily occurrence. The parlour books recording these bets are preserved from early in the eighteenth century. Many of them are now unintelligible (having been purposely put obscurely), many more are upon subjects that could never have had much interest, and have long lost what they had. But scattered among frivolities or officialisms are some that touch on public events of first-rate interest and importance. A few will show how contemporaries viewed these great events:

1770. Lord North will resign before next Michaelmas.

1779. No place whatever in America (except Canada) in the hands of the Loyalists by March 17, 1780.

1780. A naval engagement between Rodney and the French, in which the latter are beaten, on or before June 30, 1781.

1787, *October* 3. Some censure passed by the House of Lords against Mr. Hastings.

1791, *May* 29. Hastings will be found guilty.

1792, *March* 2. The majority will double the minority in the censure of Pitt.

1792, *July* 13. Neither Austrians nor Prussians at Paris in two months' time.

1792, *November* 13. The King of France will be condemned, but not executed.

1793. *January* 5. If the King of France is ordered out of the kingdom, he does not reach the frontiers in safety.

1793, *March* 28. The Dauphin not put to death in Easter week.

1793, *June* 18. Marat will be murdered before the end of next Lent term.

1793, *June* 26. Valenciennes in the hands of the allied Powers in six weeks.

1793, *December* 3. Barrère and Robespierre either dead or out of France in six months.

1794, *March* 27. The Convention deposed in less than six months.

1794, *April* 26. That at the conclusion of the war the executive power in France will not be in the hands of an individual.

1794, *April* 30 and *May* 3. The war will be over in two years.

1794, *May* 16. The Duke of York in Paris on or before June 20.

These optimistic views of the great war just beginning were, of course, destined to cost their backers sundry bottles of wine. We presently trace the progress of the war by taxes and falling funds. On February 25,

1795, a bet is made that 'there are not more than six resident members of the College that will not take out a licence to wear powder within three months after the day fixed by the Act of Parliament.' A truer prophet (if rather previous) bets on March 6 that 'there will not be a wig in two years.' The effect of the mutiny at the Nore combined with the war is shown by a bet on October 14, 1797, that 'the three per cents. will not be $52\frac{7}{8}$ in this day's paper.' Meanwhile confidence in the success of England was diminishing. In spite of the victory of St. Vincent (February 14, 1797) having frustrated the Franco-Spanish scheme of invasion, there is a bet on the 28th that the French will land 100 men within a month; on May 20, that Ireland will be a department of France within two years. On June 11 the execution of the mutineer Parker is betted upon. Next year (1798), on January 22, a bet is made that 'the French will not land 1,000 men in Great Britain or Ireland within six months.' Next the national subscription is noticed, with a list of Cambridge contributions, and a bet that Oxford will do less. The University gave 1,000 guineas, Trinity, St. John's, and King's 500 guineas, Emmanuel and Caius coming next with 200 guineas. On October 22 the effect of the Battle of the Nile (August 1) is seen by a bet 'that Bonaparte's head will be on the walls of the Seraglio within three months.' The next change is shown by a bet on November 19, 1799, that 'Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos if they remain in office six months will restore royalty' (after the *coup d'état* of November 9).

During the next fourteen years the great events in the Napoleonic wars are only occasionally referred to,

and I can only find one allusion to the Peninsular War. But on April 6, 1814, there are two pages of almost lyrical exultation over the entry of the allies into Paris on March 31—news of which, it seems, had taken a week to reach Cambridge. Many members of the parlour presented bottles of wine to 'congratulate the world,' and bets are made that Bonaparte will be dead or in prison in a month. More bottles were given on April 14, on the occasion of the 'illumination' and for the downfall of 'Signor Bonaparte,' and on 'Louis XVIII. being called to the throne of his ancestors,' and, again, on June 24 on the proclamation of peace. The escape from Elba (March 1, 1815) is indicated by a bet on March 13 that Napoleon 'will be either a prisoner or sent out of France in six weeks.' But the hundred days and Waterloo itself are otherwise unrecorded, owing to the absence of most Fellows from a serious fever that occurred at that time, and no notice of public affairs is found till October 24, when a somewhat mysterious bet is made: 'Bonaparte no command in the Northumberland within three months.' By that time Napoleon had been more than a week in St. Helena, but some timid member of the parlour seems to have had doubts as to his being safely conveyed there.

These specimens will be sufficient to illustrate the social side of the College life at this time. Farmer took his full share in it, and, in spite of his canonry at St. Paul's, passed most of his time in College. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1775-76, in which year the Senate voted an address to the King on the American War; but among a minority of dissentients was one which had the key of the room in which the common seal of the University

was kept, and who refused to produce it to seal the address, whereupon Farmer is said to have broken open the door, using a crowbar with his own hands. But if he had such contentions in the University, his mastership was one of peace in College, and apparently of financial improvement, the Fellowships being generally kept up to their full number, and their value not being less than about £50; while the debt to the Rev. R. Richardson, incurred originally for including the Manor of Shernbourn, and which amounted in time to £1,100, was being gradually paid off. Farmer appears never to have abandoned his passion for book-collecting, and his library contained many rarities—twelve Caxtons, a First Folio of Shakespeare, several copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, and hundreds of rare tracts and plays. He was careless as to the preservation of these treasures, and his copies are said to have been usually in a bad condition. Still, the collection fetched over £2,000 at his death, having cost him little more than £500. He belonged to many clubs in London, but it was only two years before his death that he was elected to the greatest of them all, the 'Literary Club' of Johnson and Reynolds. The portrait of Farmer—now in the combination-room—is by Romney, with whom he was personally acquainted. It has lately been cleaned and restored, and gives a very striking illustration of the cheerfulness attributed to him by his contemporaries. In his mastership the College celebrated its two-hundredth anniversary. Of the first centenary (1684) there is no record of any celebration, and the College at that time was at a low ebb in all respects. But in 1784 things were better, and a great banquet was given on

September 29 to celebrate the bicentenary of the foundation.

The account in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of October 2 speaks of a sermon and *Te Deum* and a Latin speech in the chapel, commemorating the benefactors, with a special anthem composed by the Professor of Music, followed by a banquet in Hall and a dessert in the long gallery. The founder's family was represented by the Earl of Westmorland, and among the past members invited are mentioned the Hon. Mr. Cockayne, Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir John Cotton, Sir Edward Lyttleton, Sir Richard Chase, Sir J. B. Warren. It was also attended by William Pitt, recently elected member for the University and just appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as by the Vice-Chancellor and other University officials. The paragraph goes on to speak with admiration of the 'attention of the Master and society to accommodate their numerous guests,' and of 'the decency and propriety mixed with the convivial good-humour of the whole.' Gunning in his reminiscences gives, after his wont, a rather more frivolous account of the festivity, recording the lively turtles to be seen in tubs at the Lodge, and the song of the Music Professor in the character of a drunken man. He had heard also from his father, who seems to have been a guest, that Pitt was 'the life and soul of the party.' The celebration seems to have been little more than a somewhat elaborate commemoration of benefactors, and no allusion to it found its way into the order-book. It was on this occasion that it was arranged to have engravings made of Farmer's portrait, which gave rise to a rather poor *jeu d'esprit*, which,

however, has the merit of telling us one or two facts:

'As to the eating part, of that
Good plenty was at hand;
Twelve bucks in larder, firm and fat,
From good Lord Westmorland.

'Melons and pines from Stevens came
(Stevens himself a feast),
Huge hampers of outlandish game,
And turtles ready drest.

'To crown the whole with one good laugh,
The Master (merry elf!)
Hands round proposals to engrave
A likeness of himself.'

When the College had lived through another century, the anniversary was celebrated on a much more elaborate scale. It may be as well here, once for all, to notice this later celebration side by side with the older one. The Master was then the Rev. S. G. Phear, the Senior Tutor was Mr. W. Chawner (since Master), the Steward Mr. W. N. Shaw, and the Bursar the Rev. A. Rose. These officers took great and most successful pains to make the celebration effective. Invitations were sent to Harvard College, Massachusetts, which was accordingly represented by Professor Charles Eliot Norton, and to the American Minister, James Russell Lowell, who also attended. The founder's family was represented by Sir Henry Mildmay, the Earl of Westmorland being unable to come. About 209 members of the College also accepted the invitation, and were accommodated in the College rooms or in those

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE HALL

lent by Christ's College. The New Court was covered in with a tent, and a banquet in the hall on June 18 was followed by a great luncheon in the tent on the 19th. At the commemoration service in chapel on the morning of the 19th, the sermon was preached by Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester, a former Fellow and Tutor, and a special anthem was composed by the Music Professor, Sir G. A. Macfarren. As in the earlier celebration, the banquet was attended by the members for the University, the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of houses, and other University officials. The presence of the American Minister, and of Professor Norton, representing Harvard, was felt to give the proceedings a special interest, as illustrating the earliest history of the College and the continuity of its connexions and influence throughout its history. Mr. Norton in his two speeches dwelt at length on the connexion of Emmanuel with the early Puritan movement and with the men who made so great a figure in New England in the seventeenth century. The twenty years which have followed this celebration have been years of steady growth, becoming in the last ten almost phenomenal, and it does not seem altogether chimerical to trace in it some effect of this carefully arranged and liberally conducted festival, which made the material and intellectual expansion of the College widely known.

Farmer died on September 8, 1797, and was succeeded by Robert Towerson Cory (Fellow 1782) on the 15th of the same month. His death seems to mark the end of the ancient history of the College: Cory's mastership, which lasted till 1835, brings us within the memory of some still surviving. We may here,

therefore, conclude this period of the College history by mentioning some names of those who, having been in the College as Farmer's contemporaries or pupils, afterwards attained distinction. Among classical scholars may be mentioned Samuel Parr (1747-1825), who entered the College in October, 1765, but was obliged to leave at the end of the next year, on the death of his father, who left him very slenderly provided. He became a master at Harrow, and in 1771, becoming a candidate for the headmastership, took his M.A. by royal mandate. Failing to become headmaster of Harrow, he obtained the masterships of other schools, and long had a private school of his own. Finally he held the living of Hatton, and was Prebendary of St. Paul's. He enjoyed great reputation as a Latinist, and as a strenuous supporter of Whig opinions. He had kept his name on the books of the College, but in 1784 migrated to St. John's, being admitted there on April 10. In later life, however, he frequently visited Emmanuel, and was a member of the parlour for some years, and seems, from various anecdotes surviving, to have sometimes behaved in the overbearing way which made him somewhat notorious elsewhere. For instance, when in 1814 a certain John Griffith (afterwards Canon of Rochester) was elected Fellow, he was introduced to Parr in the parlour, who replied by asking, 'A Welshman?' and when Griffith owned the charge, Parr blurted out, 'I never knew a Welshman who was not a rascal,' and turned his back. The fiery Cambrian insisted on an apology, and got it, but a good many others suffered in silence. Parr, however, was attached to the College in spite of his

radical politics, subscribed £100 at the time of the fire, and gave books to the library. An *editio princeps* of Aristophanes, which had once belonged to Sir Samuel Romilly, contains a letter addressed to Cory in 1819 in which he says, 'I cannot help smiling when I recollect that your Tory Rory College is to have a present tainted in its progress to you by the politics of two such naughty Whigs as Sir Samuel Romilly and Samuel Parr.' The College also now possesses his silver pipe and tobacco-box.

Another distinguished name is that of Sir William Gell (1777-1836), who became Dixie Fellow in 1798 (having graduated from Jesus). He published as early as 1804 a book on the Troad, and afterwards made elaborate tours in the Morea and other parts of Greece, of which he wrote accounts of considerable topographical value. Later in life he resided in Italy, and entertained Sir Walter Scott at Naples and Pompeii, of which last he published an account in 1832. Though, of course, much of what he wrote is now superseded, it was published at a time when little was known in Western Europe of Greece, or of the classical remains in Italy. Among his friends at Emmanuel was Thomas Young (1773-1829), who, after studying in Germany and elsewhere, came as a Fellow-commoner to Emmanuel in 1797, and remained there three years in order to take a medical degree. His discoveries of the undulatory theory of light and of the key to the interpretation of Egyptian inscriptions were only part of his immense services to science, which made his name famous throughout the world. The portrait in the combination room is a copy of the original.

His monument in Westminster Abbey is by Chantrey. Farmer's successor in the tutorship was William Bennet, a name which deserves well of an historian of Emmanuel, for he recopied and continued Richardson's register of the College, and made considerable collections of papers, letters, and anecdotes illustrating its history. He was a good scholar, especially as a Latinist, but his work on the Roman roads in Britain is not of permanent value. He went, as his chaplain, with Lord Westmorland—a former pupil—when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1790 was made Bishop of Cork, and translated to Cloyne in 1794. Like other Irish Bishops, he spent many of his later years in London, where he died in 1820. About 1785 Emmanuel also became the residence of Sir Busick Harwood, Professor of Anatomy, who removed thither from Christ's, till his marriage in 1798. He seems to have done a good deal for the anatomical studies of the place, and on the founding of Downing College was the first Downing Professor of Medicine. Till a few years ago there was a human skeleton in the antechapel, said to have been that used by him in his lectures, delivered at four o'clock in the afternoon in term time, though a fond tradition would have it to be the bones of a Fellow-commoner of the seventeenth century who was killed in a duel.

A picture of what must have been rather the seamy side of undergraduate life in the middle of the eighteenth century, about the time of Farmer's and Bennet's undergraduateship, is given in the memoir of the Rev. Dr. Trusler published in 1806. Trusler entered the College in 1754, and resided three years. He seems

to have wasted his time, and in after years thus comments on University life :

'Young men of fortune are sometimes sent to the Universities that they may boast of having had a University education, or more probably to keep them out of harm's way at that critical period of their life when their passions are afloat and outstrip their reason. Study is out of the question ; they keep their horses, and sometimes their girls, and attend but little to academical exercises. As to professional students (some very few excepted), they are worse scholars at leaving College than at their admission. I heard one Tutor once censure a young man at lectures, who had been nearly three years at College, by saying that he knew less than a freshman which sat next him. "Well, and what of that?" retorts the youth: "he is but just come from school." As to the Fellow-commoners, they were always at Cambridge called "empty-bottles" from the following circumstance that occurred at Emmanuel. Wine-merchants send their porters occasionally round the Colleges to collect the bottles: one of these men, during the hour of lecture, knocked at the lecture-room door by mistake, and called out, "Empty bottles!" The Tutor, then out of humour at being attended by only one Fellow-commoner, when there were twenty in College, cried out, "Call again another time ; I have now but one."'

This soon got wind, and these young gentlemen of the first class went afterwards throughout the University by the name of 'empty bottles.' He then goes on to tell how he became much sought after in College, because, soon after his admission,

'strolling round the boundary, I perceived a key left in the gate at the lower end of the adjoining close, through

which the gardener was wheeling dung. I took the opportunity, whilst he was at dinner, to take this key to a neighbouring smith, got an impression struck off in thin iron, brought it back, and replaced it unnoticed. From this impression I had a key made, and as our gates were locked at six in winter and nine in summer, and the name of everyone who entered after these hours was carried up by the porter to the Master of the College, with the time of his coming in, and he was reprimanded and punished according to his irregularity, everyone wished to become my friend, with a view of benefiting occasionally by this my ticket of admission.'

But if such defiance of authority was possible, outward respect to the officials was enforced with some rigour:

'It was a custom at our College, if an undergraduate passed through one of the quadrangles when a Fellow of the College was in view, to walk with his cap in his hand, let the weather be what it might. Being always troubled with weak eyes, one day, when it mizzled, I omitted this ceremony, and as a punishment I was ordered to translate Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*, from his Latin *Commentaries*, about half an octavo volume, and to keep my room till it was done. So severe a punishment for so *slight* an offence roused my pride, and the Christmas vacation of a month approaching, not having done it, I was refused leave to go home. Taking, therefore, French leave, on my return I was rusticated—that is, banished from College *sine die*, during the pleasure of the Master; who, however, recalled me in time, so that I did not lose a term.'

CHAPTER IX

MASTERSHIPS OF R. T. CORY (1797-1835), G. ARCHDALL-GRATWICKE (1835-1871), S. G. PHEAR (1871-1895), AND WILLIAM CHAWNER, THE PRESENT MASTER

The mastership of Robert Towerson Cory was not a period of much movement or distinction for the College. He was himself Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1809 to 1813, but he does not seem to have attracted much ability to the College. A few men of some note who were about his contemporaries were still living—such as Manners Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1805-1828), who took an active part in the Evangelical revival in the Church; Robert Potter (B.A. 1741), author of a once famous translation of Æschylus, as well as of Euripides, survived till 1804, as Vicar of Lowestoft and Canon of Norwich; Thomas Young, already noticed, did not die till 1829; Charles Long, Lord Farnborough, Paymaster-General, in 1838; Robert Saunders Dundas, Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, in 1851; Sir William Gell, already noticed, in 1838; George Dyer, a minor poet, in 1841, with some others of more or less moderate reputation. Thomas Percy, editor of

Percy's *Reliques*, and Bishop of Dromore, was an Oxford man, but became connected with the College in 1780, when he took the degree of D.D. from Emmanuel, and survived till 1811. But there does not appear to have been successors of these men in Cory's time. The numbers continued small: the entrances from 1801 to 1810 averaged 14·7; from 1811 to 1820, 21; from 1821 to 1830, 21·8; from 1831 to 1840, 17·1. No doubt the war accounts for the fall in the first decade to some extent; but for one reason or another the first forty years of the nineteenth century saw the College at a low point as to numbers and credit. Those who joined it about this time have described it as a gentlemanly College, in which few did serious work, while sportsmanship was in high esteem. On a hunting morning some dozen horses, it is said, would be in waiting at the College gates. We look in vain for any names of distinction among the Fellows. In the last years of the eighteenth century the College revenues were hampered by the expenses of two lawsuits, making it necessary in 1798 to suspend elections, while the Gillingham Fellowship continued vacant till 1801. Then the *insigne detrimentum* was declared to be at an end, and from that time the financial position of the College continued steadily to improve. The College order-book speaks now rather of investing surpluses than of borrowing, a state of things apparently not seriously affected by the fire of 1811. In 1807 a considerable addition was made to the various stipends—£160 to the Master, £40 to each of the Fellows, £4 to the sizars, 6s. weekly allowance to the scholars, with £5 12s. to their annual stipend. These additions continue to recur at

intervals—in 1845, 1850, 1856—till in 1861 the average payments were reckoned to the Master £1,250, the senior seniorum £318, each senior £306, each middle Fellow £286, each junior £268. After 1861 the distinction between the Fellows disappeared, and each Fellow had the same stipend, averaging somewhat over £300 per annum, till the new statutes of 1883 restricted it to £250 per annum.

Attempts to raise the standard of teaching, however, along with this increasing prosperity were somewhat few and slow. The first, perhaps, was the election of E. V. Blomfield from Caius (1813), who had obtained the first Chancellor's Medal for Classics. He was a brother of another scholar famous in his day, C. J. Blomfield, Bishop of London. He, unfortunately, died in 1816, quite young, but he left behind him a translation of Matthiæ's *Greek Grammar*, a great advance on anything then existing in England, and the first-fruits of the renewed intercourse with the Continent, so long barred by the protracted war. A tablet to his memory is in the College cloister. In these early years of the century the number of resident Fellows seems to have been very small, the College orders being seldom signed by more than five. After 1818 the number steadily increases, eight or ten frequently signing the order-book, and seldom less than seven. In the election of Fellows, also, increased regard began to be paid to intellectual fitness. The old stringent examination, which Sancroft spoke of as scaring away candidates, seems to have gradually fallen into neglect. The Tripos list no doubt was taken as an equivalent, but even that had not been strictly regarded. In 1827, however, an order of May 23

directed that no one should be considered properly qualified for a Fellowship whose name did not appear in the list of Wranglers or in the first class of the Classical Tripos (established 1824), or among the Senior Optimes *and* second class Classical Tripos, with the reservation in favour of any other University honour open to public competition. Some difficulty, no doubt, occurred in carrying this rule out from the regulation as to no two Fellows being of the same county; at any rate, it was violated in the same year by the election of Colbeck and Bunch, and in the next by that of Dickson, while some Wranglers and one first class man are passed over. But up to the end of Cory's mastership Emmanuel men are very rarely found in either Tripos. In 1832, by another order, a double method of selecting Fellows appears to have been established. Each candidate is 'to be placed previously to examination in that position relative to his competitors to which his University distinction may entitle him.' Then, however, there is to be an examination, and

'no candidate is to be elected who shall not upon examination show a competent proficiency in every one of the subjects: viz., Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Hebrew, Greek, Latin; Elements of Theology, especially the Greek Testament.'

This seems to mean that place in the University examination is to decide who is the proper person to elect, but that he must then pass a qualifying examination in other subjects. If this scheme was ever put in practice, it did not long survive—at any rate, with any effect, as it was impossible that it should. For no amount of

general knowledge would really counterbalance great superiority of degree.

But the final clause of the order foreshadowed a policy which has distinguished the College among others in Cambridge in recent years: 'In the event of no candidate fulfilling the above conditions, that resource be had to some other College, as directed by the statutes.' This was not often resorted to for some years: W. P. Anderson from St. John's (1850), and J. B. Pearson from the same College, being the only examples before 1870. But after that date, beginning with the names of Hort and Greenhill, there have been a series of out-College elections, and at this day six of the foundation Fellows and the large majority of the teaching staff are from other Colleges. The establishment of the Dixie Professorship of Ecclesiastical History (1884), endowed partly from the Dixie Estate, and partly by a senior Fellowship of Emmanuel, has made the presence of at least one out-College man almost certain (for though the Professor may be a member of the College, the office is open to all the world), and as far as it has existed it has been an intellectual benefit. The first election took place in 1884, and brought to the College the late Mandell Creighton, afterwards Bishop successively of Peterborough and London, whose vigorous intellect, wide literary sympathies, and absolute disdain of the commonplace, seemed to bring a breath of fresh air into the College. The policy of seeking for ability wherever it was to be found had already proved successful in the person of F. J. A. Hort, elected in 1871, when Rector of St. Ippolyts in Hertfordshire. Formerly a Fellow of Trinity, after a distinguished undergraduate

career, he brought with him on his return to Cambridge the habits and atmosphere of a scholar's life, which, combined with great liberality and breadth of view, soon won him wide influence in the University, and proved of great value at the period when the College was (with others) passing through a rather troublous time of change. Hort's services to the criticism of the Greek Testament are well known, and were (somewhat inadequately) rewarded by the Norrisian and Lady Margaret Professorships; but the influence exercised upon his surroundings by his indefatigable industry and high ideal of truth and accuracy, necessarily less well known, should be recorded here. He died in 1892.

These developments were still in the distant future under Cory's administration, but it is only fair to say that they were in accordance with a policy initiated in his time, in the belief that the way to make the College flourishing and popular was to get the best men to conduct its teaching. It retained, indeed, its sturdy Toryism and Churchmanship. There is an order of February 14, 1829, directing the College seal to be affixed to a petition to both Houses of Parliament against the Catholic Relief Bill, though the order is rescinded two days later, for what reason does not appear. In the previous year the College subscribed £100 for the establishment of King's College, London, which, while no doubt prompted by ecclesiastical motives, shows at least an interest in education. About the same time measures were taken to repair and make available the College library; and while the financial position admitted of the erection of the New Court near the site of the old Bungay Building, without borrowing

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE NEW COURT

or raising subscriptions, the number of scholars was well maintained, ten being admitted, for instance, in one day in 1829. Among them is the name of a man who rose to some distinction, and was at different periods a well-known figure in the College—Edward Harold Browne, afterwards a Fellow (1837), Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and Bishop successively of Ely and Winchester. He was a man of singular personal charm, and was noted as a Bishop for maintaining peace and harmony in his dioceses. His chief literary work was an exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles which long held its position as a standard exposition of Anglican doctrine. He had been a tutor of Downing, and his tenure of his Fellowship at Emmanuel was brief; but in 1884 he was elected to an honorary Fellowship, which he held till his death in 1891.

Cory died in April, 1835, and was succeeded on the 30th of that month by George Archdall, B.D. (Fellow 1817), who retained the office for over thirty-six years, and later in life assumed the additional surname of Gratwicke. He was also Canon of Norwich. He had in early life been one of the English travellers detained in France by Napoleon at the rupture of peace in 1803 till 1810, and took pleasure in telling anecdotes of the Emperor. He was twice Vice-chancellor—first in the year of his election, and again in 1841. The new mastership began with extensive repairs and improvements of the Lodge, and of the stables, which then stood on the site now occupied by the Hostel and Tutor's house. His first two years witnessed the purchase of the living of East Bergholt for £8,000, the division of Loughborough into two independent parishes, and the purchase

of a strip of waste land from the Corporation, which added to the Fellow's Garden the site of the present greenhouse, at the price of £50 (1837). An order of March 25 of the same year seems to show that under the late régime the old complaints as to lax behaviour in chapel were still not without some grounds. After the beginning of the next October term, undergraduates and Bachelors are required to be in chapel *before* the Psalms begin. The same entry forbids Fellows taking MSS. from the College library without a special order. The new broom began in the usual way. At the same time more extensive alterations seem to have been in contemplation, for an order of October 26, 1837, directs counsel's opinion to be taken as to whether 'the Queen in Council, or any power short of an Act of Parliament, can alter or amend any of our statutes.' But if reforms were contemplated, nothing came of them for many years. Meanwhile the finances were flourishing. A further increase of stipends all round is made in April, 1837, on the express ground that 'on an examination of the present resources of the College, there is a considerable surplus of income over expenditure.' Archdall had been Bursar at the time of his election to the mastership, and no doubt had contributed to this result. At any rate the College had now reached firm ground, from which it has never really receded. The value of its property seems to have steadily risen, and though, like others, it has suffered from agricultural depression, the gifts of early benefactors of properties in or near London have more than made up for the loss, so that, as we shall see, it has been found possible during the last few years to

raise the number of Fellowships to sixteen, and to endow studentships for research.

The mastership of Dr. Archdall-Gratwicke was not an eventful one, except in regard to the changes following the Commission of 1861. Survivors who remember him only knew him in extreme old age, when he was naturally averse from all change. He was devoted to the College interests, and was a man of singular good sense, with the charm of an old-time courtesy. But he was probably at all times slow to admit of change. Under his administration the College shared the general prejudice as to the damage to property likely to be caused by railways, and in 1843 resisted the scheme of the Great Eastern station at Stratford, just as in 1851 it resisted the scheme for an improved water-supply to Cambridge. Still, some important changes did take place in his time. They begin with the alteration of the statutes in 1861, following the University Commission. These changes include the abolition of the rule affecting Fellows and scholars, which forbade more than one to be elected from the same county, as well as of the distinction between senior and junior among the Fellows themselves. As regards the fund for assisting undergraduates, a considerable step was taken towards amalgamation. Ten small exhibitions were abolished, and their endowment placed to the credit of a general scholarship fund. The ten Ash exhibitions, with preference to candidates from Derby and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, were abolished, and in their place ten scholarships of £50 and two exhibitions of £50 were established. The scholarships were open to all, but the two exhibitions were still called Ash, and retained the

preference to those two schools. A number of other small scholarships were also combined in one fund maintaining five scholarships of £30. As to the Fellowships, the distinction between the Gillingham and foundation Fellows was abolished. The Gillingham endowment was transferred to the general fund, which was to support twelve Fellows, with the understanding that a thirteenth was to be established when the College property admitted of it. Some relaxation as to marriage was also made. Statute XX. allowed the election of men distinguished in literature in spite of being married, but Fellows so elected were never to exceed a sixth of the whole body, nor were they to have a right to College livings. Of other Fellows, those who had served fifteen years as Assistant-Tutor (afterwards interpreted to include Tutor) or Bursar were allowed to retain their Fellowships after marriage, with the leave of two-thirds of the society and the approval of the Vice-Chancellor. The amount of external income forfeiting a Fellowship was raised (as it had been often before) to £300 per annum. Membership of the Established Church was still compulsory both for Master and Fellows, but the regulation as to Orders was somewhat relaxed. Though a layman as a general rule was to forfeit his Fellowship at the end of ten years, he could retain it if he was an Assistant-Tutor (or Tutor) or Bursar, and had held those offices for three years, but only as long as he retained one of them. Fifteen years' service, however, entitled a man to retain his Fellowship for life, so long as not more than two Fellowships were so held.

With this renewed constitution the College pursued an even way of moderate success, both as to numbers and

University honours. The entrances from 1831 to 1840 averaged 17·1; from 1841 to 1850 there was a rise to 27·5; from 1851 to 1860 there was another rise to 30·2; from 1861 to 1870, a fall to 26·5. Other changes were the establishment, in 1861, of the system of open scholarships offered for competition before residence, the first election taking place in 1862; the commencement of a building fund in 1868; and the reopening, after many years of silence, of the College organ, and the formation of a voluntary choir among members of the College.

Dr. Archdall-Gratwicke died in the Lodge on September 16, 1871, and on the 2nd of the following October Samuel George Phear, B.D., Senior Tutor and Bursar, was elected to succeed him. He next year took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was Vice-chancellor in 1874 and 1875. Dr. Phear's mastership (1871-1895) witnessed many changes, and the initiation, at any rate, of many measures which have largely contributed to the expansion of recent years. The new statutes of 1882—arrived at after long and laborious discussion extending over nearly six years—have very greatly changed the constitution and administration of the College. The governing body is still the Master and Fellows, but no Fellow below the degree of M.A. can vote until he has been a Fellow for one year, nor any Fellow who has been absent from one half of the meetings in the preceding year. Such Fellows are not members of the governing body. The old distinction between senior and junior Fellows is revived, but neither senior nor junior Fellow can hold his Fellowship for more than six years unless

he holds the office of Dean, Tutor, Assistant-Tutor, or Bursar. Fifteen years' service as Senior Tutor, or twenty-five in any other of the above-named offices, entitles a man to his Fellowship for life. The relative number of seniors and juniors is never to differ by more than three, and before an election the governing body is to decide whether it is to be to a senior or junior Fellowship. A junior Fellow may be elected to a senior Fellowship, but has no claim to be so elected. Practically all the scholarships are now merged in one scholarship fund,* out of which the governing body can elect to scholarships and exhibitions of whatever value and to whatever number they think right and the fund can maintain, the one restriction being that there must be at least twelve of not less value than £60; while the maximum value of those offered for open competition before residence is to be £80. The purely educational part of the College work is now in the hands of an 'Educational Board,' consisting of the Master, Senior Tutor, and two Fellows elected by the governing body. This board arranges lectures, appoints and removes lecturers (with an appeal to the governing body), and nominates Assistant-Tutors. There are now four Tutors nominated by the Master and elected by the governing body. Each holds office for fifteen years, and can be re-elected. He can only be removed by a majority of the governing body, with an appeal to the Visitor. Neither marriage nor the being in Holy Orders now

* Except the Thorpe scholarships and the Ashby-de-la-Zouch exhibitions. The latter have still a preference to Derby, and the Johnson to Oakham and Uppingham, the Smith to Durham, and the Dixie to Market Bosworth.

makes any difference in regard to the tenure of Fellowships. The stipend of the Fellows depends from year to year on the divisible balance of revenue, but is never to exceed £250. The number of sizars and subsizars has been increased, but the old distinction as to dining at the end of Hall on dishes which had been served at the high table has been abolished.

The alteration in the use of the Dixie funds, which now endow a Professorship instead of supporting two Fellows, the surplus being hitherto invested in the purchase of advowsons of livings, has already been noticed. The governing body in 1899 exercised its discretion in regard to the money set apart for educational purposes by founding a studentship for advanced study and research to the value of £120 per annum, to enable a young graduate to prosecute some branch of original investigation either in England or abroad. In 1902 the rise of the College revenue consequent on the falling in of the valuable lease in Threadneedle Street, and the development of the Hyde farm as a building property, not only enabled the Society to raise the number of Fellows (with the approval of the Visitor) to sixteen, but also to establish two more studentships for advanced study and research of the annual value of £150, and to announce that they are willing to consider applications for aid in publishing the result of such independent work by members of the College. They have also encouraged the system of resident Advanced Students lately established in the University, by offering an exhibition of £50 to one of those coming into residence in the College.

This rise in the value of its property in or near

London has so greatly affected the fortunes of the College that it ought to be described a little more fully, as a curious instance of benefactions of which little note was taken at the time, but which has resulted in a noble endowment of learning. The properties are three in number. On November 14, 1585, Sir Walter conveyed to his new foundation a house in Bishopsgate Street, which was an inn called the Swan, once possessed by the Gild of St. Julian, or Innkeepers' Gild. With it was another house, given, apparently on Sir Walter's suggestion, by one John Morley. The rent produced by the property was £4. It went through various developments, always, until about 1870, remaining an inn called the Four Swans. It is now a block of offices, etc., bringing in a rental of £1,700. Secondly, in 1588, one Walter Dunch, on September 27, gave the College some houses in Threadneedle Street, in accordance with the will of Mr. John Barnes, who left his estate to be settled on some College in Oxford or Cambridge, at the discretion of his executor. The College gave a forty years' lease of it at the rent of £17 13s. 4d., receiving fines for renewal varying from £105 to £220. The buildings were burnt in the Great Fire, but rebuilt by the lessees, who were repaid by getting an equitable rearrangement of their lease agreed upon before Judges. In 1843 it was leased for sixty years at a rent of £300. It now brings in £3,000. Thirdly, the Hyde Farm, near Clapham, Surrey, consisting of about 61 acres, came into the possession of the College in 1629 by purchase. Till recently the terms on which it was leased varied little. It was let on a twenty one years' lease for a rent

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE OLD COURT, LOOKING EAST UPON THE PADDOCK

of £20, with a fine for renewal which varied from £17 to £200. It has now been largely built over, and produces a rent of £2,700.

These developments have carried us to a time beyond Dr. Phear's mastership. Other measures that fall within it are the beginning of the hostel system, and the erection of the new buildings designed for that purpose at the east end of the close, and the adjoining Tutor's house. In 1884 an entrance examination was established; in 1885 a slight increase was made in the tuition fee, in order that the Lecturers might do for their men what had formerly been done at much greater cost by private Tutors; in 1886 an exhibition and other encouragements were devised for candidates for the India Civil Service; in 1887 a Library Committee was formed which has done much to keep the College Library supplied with all books that might be useful to Fellows or scholars engaged in any serious study. In 1884 a junior students' library was begun in a set of rooms in the Old Court, containing the most necessary books of reference and all the ordinary books used in the several branches of University study, to be at the service of all members of the College under the usual conditions of a lending library. About the same time another set of chambers in the Old Court was converted into a reading and debating room. Minor improvements were the lease of a cricket and football field, the erection of a boathouse, the building of a fives-court, the laying out of the close for tennis, the redecoration of the hall and chapel, the introduction of electric light: all of which have added to the beauty, convenience, and general amenity of the College.

Dr. Phear's mastership was also distinguished by the tercentenary celebration already described, over which he presided with great dignity and success (1884). It also witnessed the gradual formation of a staff of teachers which could bear comparison with any other College in the University. So that the words used by himself in his speech at the tercentenary dinner may be with some truth repeated:

'It was Thomas Fuller's wish for the Emmanuel in his day: "May she never want milk for her babes, or babes for her milk." I may say confidently, but without boasting, that the milk was never more plenteous than now.'

Dr. Phear's mastership, like those of Drs. Chaderton and Sancroft, came to an end in October, 1895, by resignation. Under his successor, William Chawner—the first lay Master—these various improvements, many of which had been initiated and brought to successful working by his zeal and energy as Senior Tutor, have borne great and conspicuous fruit. There has been, in the first place, a phenomenal rise in numbers. It began in the decade 1881-1890, when the average of entrances was 42·8; it went on in the next decade (1891-1900) to 62·5; and that average has been still further increased during the present century, the entrances in 1903 amounting to 70, a larger number than had been reached since the restoration of 1660. The increase in the College revenue, and the use to which that increase has been put, have already been described. It has been rewarded—in common with the zeal and reputation of the Tutors—not only by swollen numbers, but by the ability attracted to the College, whose members have in

the last few years secured an unprecedentedly large share in the list of University honours.

With this has come also a considerable improvement in the site of the College itself, facilitating the extension of the buildings whenever it becomes wise or necessary to entertain any such plan. By the purchase of the house at the south-western corner of the southern garden, an obstacle to the use of that side of the College grounds has been removed. But more important still, the College is on the point of getting possession of Emmanuel Street, in return for surrendering ground for a new street about 100 yards farther down St. Andrew's Street, which—as the houses on the north side are already in its possession —would enable it at some future time to erect almost as large a court as any in Cambridge. When the College was founded it was almost outside the town, with little or nothing between it and the open country ; it was on the fringe of the University, remote from its heart and centre. Not only has the town grown round it, but the University has crept up to it. The new Museums and the laboratories on the site of the old botanic garden, and on the Downing ground opposite, have caused the College to be closer than most others to the crowded lecture-rooms of the new learning. Its members fondly believe that this is ominous of a great future beyond the dream of Sir Walter, when he planted his acorn in faith, without venturing to foretell what would come of the tree which was to grow from it and to spread its branches far and wide. The list of benefactors given in the Appendix will serve as an indication of how the stream, starting from the foundation of his bounty, has

grown and widened. Nor is it only or chiefly the hands of the great, famous, or wealthy that have done this. It is worth noticing how isolated acts of obscure donors have contributed to the great result. Neither of Dunch nor Barnes, from whom came the property in Threadneedle Street, can any information be obtained. Francis Ash is only known as a 'citizen of London'; of the long list of benefactors recorded by Cooper the majority are wholly obscure—country clergy, schoolmasters, merchants or small landowners. The seed silently sown by almost unknown hands has borne a generous harvest.

CHAPTER X

THE LIBRARY

The Founder, among his other provisions for the College, designed to present to it certain books in the four faculties of Theology, Logic, Rhetoric and History. A volume of many pages of vellum still exists, on the first of which it is stated that he 'librariæ prima posuit elementa.' Seven books are mentioned, six of which are still in the library, of which the first three contain his autograph. The six are: (1) A large French Bible, folio, on the title-page of which he wrote, 'Ex dono ministrorum totius Ecclesiæ Genvenensis octavo Kalendas Iunii 1588'; (2) a Latin Vulgate, folio, 1553; (3) a volume of Beza's Theological Tracts (beautifully bound), 1573; (4) Car. Molinæus (Charles de Moulin) *de contractibus*, 1553; (5) Rud. Agricola's *Logica*, 1527; (6) Isocrates' *Orationes Latine*, ed. Wolf, 1547. The blank pages of this volume were apparently meant for the catalogue of the future library, but were never used.

The room set apart for a library was at the south-west corner of the Founder's Range, and it contained the picture of Sir Walter painted for the

College, and now in the gallery, with a 'a curtayne of blew saye and an iron rod,' 'a terrestial globe with a waynscot frame,' 'two tables of astronomye,' '9 fair desks of oake every one having three degrees,' and 'six books of monyments of martyrs.'

The library was transferred to the present building, which had been the chapel, after the completion of the new chapel in 1679, and the shorter cases under the windows were added between 1693 and 1706, to accommodate Sancroft's books. A letter from Dillingham to Sancroft, dated July 15, 1678, speaks of the contemplated change:

'I may give your lordship an account of Emmanuel Library. I have observed the windows etc. in the old Chapel, and do not doubt but it may make a very convenient Library. The walls are good and dry, the dampness that appears being only from the floore, which may be remedyed by raising the floore to the level of the footpage of the bachelors' seates; and the wideness being 27 feet, nine on each side may be set off for the length of the classis, and the middle walk will be 9 ft. broad. The windows being but 4 on a side will admit but 3 classes between them, and at each end a half classis; but the distance between the windows and wideness of the window is such that there may be very well an interclassis against the midst of every window as high as the soyle of it, about 6 foot high, to come as far out as the higher classes, which may be 8 foot high, so there will be in effect 8 classes on each side of 9 foot length, which will contain thrice so many books as yet they have.'

The books in the old library increased with fair rapidity. In a volume of inventories lists are copied

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE LIBRARY

out in 1603, 1606, 1609, 1610, and 1620. In 1610 it is stated that there were found to be 503 volumes and thirty missing. In 1619 Dr. Branthwait left £20 to the library, gifts of books are recorded from almost the earliest times from Fellows and others, and a catalogue which belonged to Archbishop Sancroft—with his autograph at the top of the first page—contains the titles of about 5,000 books. The library has grown steadily, but it has had certain large increases. The first was by books worth £120 given by John Richardson, B.D. (Fellow, 1592), followed by the folio and quarto books left by Dr. Richardson, Master of Trinity, in 1625; the next, a share of the books left by Richard Holdsworth (Master from 1637 to 1644), whose legacy in 1649 named as a condition that the College should provide a fitting room for the books. They numbered over 10,000 volumes, and the expectation of acquiring them first gave Sancroft the idea of providing a new library. Ultimately, however, the bulk of them went to the University, which paid the College £220 in lieu of its claims. Yet some seem to have found their way to the College library, and we may assume that part of the money received was spent in books.

Holdsworth's intentions as to his books will best be seen by the following letter addressed to 'my much esteemed friend, Mr. Wellar of Emmanuel College, or in his absence to Mr. Sarson':

'Worthy S^r^,

'Holding it not soe convenient, to wryte to the whole society at this p^r^sent, I thought it fittest, by y^r^ selfe to imparte unto them both my respectfull acknowlegments of their great love, and my continued resolution of

increasing their Library, according to my former expressions unto Mr Whichcote. The number of folioes, wch I intend, shall be at least 300, and most of them books of good bulke. For the 4oes and 8oes, I can not soe punctually at this distance determine of the number, till I come downe to ye College, wch to doe, I am in hope to obteine leave, but if I procure it not, the thing shall goe forward, as well to their content, though it may be it will not be soe well to myne. There will need noe further directions, for fitting of that parte of the library, save only to intreat you, to furnishe it fully with shelves, there where you make your partition, both because it may invite me the better to a larger proportion, and because, I am in hope, to procure Mr Rumney's library for you, which was the reason of my deferring to wryte all this while, having till this week recieved noe certain answer from the administrator. The gentlemã himself died intestate, soe his brother administers, but with some oppositiõ of Sr Francis Carye who married his sister : This oppositiõ made him to keep strict watch in his house, and not to give admittance to any to speak with him ; Therefor I acquainted him first by letter, then by a friend, and on monday last by my selfe, that Mr Rumnye had severall tymes signified both to my selfe and to others, that he would bestowe his books upõ Emmanuell College, and therefore I intreated him that he would make good his brother's resolutiõ, and give you cause to enroll them both for benefactors : After much parlye he gave me a very faire answer, that howsoever he could prove, that his brother upõ ye alterations in Emmanuell College, had retracted his former resolutiõ, yet when things were settled, he would readily doe what was agreable to reason, if it were in his powre to dispose of yem : Here now is the business that foreslowed my answer ; I shall still keep an

eye upon it, for ye best advantage of the College, and be alwayes ready to watch any opportunity of doing it good, as cordially as if I were in it: In the interim, I pray you returne to the fellows, my redoobled thanks, both for their friendly letter and their kinde acceptance of this small pledge of my love to ye College. Soe I commend you to God's Grace, and remaine

'Y^r^ affectionate friend

'Ri: Holdsworth.

'*March* 27, 1646.'

Writing to Sancroft on January 19, 1664-65, W. Dillingham remarks at the end of his letter: 'I am glad to hear that Dr. Holdsworth's library is so peaceably disposed of.' This settlement seems not only to have involved the payment from the University mentioned above, but also a transference to the Emmanuel Library of duplicates, which was in accordance with a clause in his will. After directing that in certain circumstances the books are to go to the Lambeth Library, or to that of the 'College in Dublin,' instead of Cambridge, he adds:

'If my books come to the possession of Cambridge I appoint that a selection be made of all such books as are double or treble in my Library, of the same edition, and the books so selected I give to Emmanuel College, so withall such as they have not already there, and the remainder to Katherine Hall in Cambridge: And it will not be an unconsiderable number. The like order I would have observed if it shall fall out that they come to be transmitted to the College of Dublin in Ireland. But if they come to the possession of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, I do then appoint that the double and treble

books so selected be bestowed upon Katherine Hall, and the remainder of the selection upon Christ's College in Cambridge.'

The books of James Rumney mentioned in Holdsworth's letter seem to have come to the College to the value of £60. In 1675 Breton, and in 1684 Holbech, left their books to the library. In 1685 Edmund Castell left over 100 valuable Hebrew books. Other benefactors have been Rachel, daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmorland (and therefore great-grand-daughter of the founder), wife of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Bath, who died in 1654. She gave books to the value of £200. John Kent, B.D. (Fellow 1660, Vicar of North Luffenham 1676), gave books to the value of £60; John Croone, M.D., F.R.S. (Fellow 1651), left his mathematical books in 1706; John Atwood (Fellow 1652) left £50 to the library; John Brown, B.D. (Fellow 1687, Rector of Wallington 1736), left £50 and a part of his books; John Gresley, B.D. (Fellow 1760, Rector of Aller 1778) gave £50; Henry Nichols (Fellow 1675) gave £180. Finally, part of the proceeds of the estate left by Francis Ash in 1659 was appropriated to the library.

The largest increase, however, was after the library had been removed to its present quarters, and came from Archbishop Sancroft before his death. These books had been warehoused in Lambeth after his deprivation in 1691, and shortly before his death were delivered by his chaplain, Needham (who had a brother a Fellow), to the College. As he made no will, the remaining part of his books and MSS., which were at Fressingfield, never came to the library. This large present of over 6,000

volumes, which included valuable MSS., such as the MS. of Herodotus, necessitated some addition to the shelves, which seem shortly afterwards to have assumed their present arrangement. The locked-up case for MSS. and the rarer printed books was added very early; but the other open case in the centre is of recent construction. The next and last large addition was that of Hubbard's library, at his death in 1777. Most of the existing Fellows had the choice of some of these books and a certain portion was left to a Mr. Canning. But on Canning's death, in 1789, he left them back to the College, along with the portrait of Hubbard now in the hall. Lastly, a considerable number of books belonging to the late Professor Hort were at his death, in 1892, presented to the library by his widow. Among donors of MSS. ought to be mentioned Bishop Bedell, whose MS. Hebrew Bible, purchased at Venice, came to the College after his death in 1641. The following letter also will show how the four volumes of the works of St. Chrysostom in MS. came to us:

'The manuscript formerly belonged to the learned Adam Askew, M.D., and after his death came into the possession of his eldest son, Adam Askew, by whom it was given to me in the year 1790, in testimony of his regard for me, as his schoolmaster at Stanmore, Middlesex, and as the intimate friend of his deceased father. With sincere and great pleasure I present it to the Library of Emmanuel College, as a mark of my respect for the Master and Fellows of the society in which I had the honour to be educated; and the manuscript, I suppose, will be the more acceptable to them as having once been the property of Dr. Askew and his son, who were members of the same College, and

who, like myself, took a lively interest in its prosperity and its fame.

'SAMUEL PARR.

'HATTON PARSONAGE,
'*August* 19, 1814.'

It has been a good practice also, on the part of members of the College who were authors, to send copies of their works to the library. Thus, there are several of Sir William Temple's minor works, with his autograph dedication to his old College. The purchase of books has been fitful, but has never been wholly suspended. From very early times part of the money paid by the commencing Bachelors was devoted to this purpose, and an order of October 29, 1651, directs that 'the Steward shall buy books and exhibit them in the Parlour, and thence send them into the Library.'

The development of the library as a useful assistance to students, and the means taken for its preservation, can be traced through a series of College orders and regulations. The notice, already quoted, in 1610 of there being thirty volumes 'missing' is one that is often repeated, and an indication of the need for the various measures taken. It seems that at first the library was open to Fellows and scholars, who not only had free access to it, but took out books as they pleased. The first order that I have discovered relating to it is dated April 8, 1600, wherein Fellows and scholars are forbidden to take books into their chambers without the leave of the Master and major part of the Fellows, and without giving a 'note of remembrance.' There was already, it seems, a 'library-keeper,' who

was paid sixteen shillings every half-year, and it was to him that the note of remembrance was to be given. The order is re-enforced on October 4, 1609, with a fine of forty shillings (a very heavy sum in days when a Fellow's stipend was less than £10 a year) on a Fellow or scholar who 'shall take or receive any book or books out of the common Library on any pretence whatever,' or who, having a book out at that date, does not return it within four days. This strict rule, however, was not maintained. On March 4, 1653-54, an order directs the library-keeper—without whose knowledge no Fellow is to take out a book—to write down the name of the book taken out by a Fellow sending for it. He is to see that the book is always returned so as to be in the library from six o'clock p.m. on Saturday till the Monday morning next ensuing. A fine of one shilling is to be levied for each volume for each Saturday on which it is not returned. It seems, therefore, that by this time the scholars had lost their privilege of using the library. They could only get books through a Fellow. Careful inventories of the books continue to be given, and that which bears the signature of Sancroft and contains the titles of about 5,000 volumes is particularly well written and well preserved. But there do not seem to have been any further regulations made for its care for many years after this, nor does there appear to have been any regular system as to the purchase of books.

Early in the eighteenth century attention seems to have been turned once more to the library, beginning, however, with a very questionable step. On March 25, 1712, there is an order that

'Mr. Jeffery be appointed and empowered to sell such books belonging to the Library as the Society thinks fit to part with and are specifyed in a catalogue made for that purpose. That Mr. Jeffery from time to time put in the College treasury the money arising from the sale of these books together with a catalogue of the books sold. That the money so raised shall be kept in the said treasury to be laid out as the major part of the Society shall think fit for the use of the Library.'

Jeffery was senior Fellow and Librarian at this time. He went off to Luffenham in 1714, but, apparently, he carried out the order to some effect, for in June, 1716, we hear of £200 'put out for the use of the library,' the interest of which is to be received by the Steward and laid out in books, an account of which is to be given yearly; but no catalogue of those sold is forthcoming. With the mastership of Savage (1719-1736) there seems to have been a great access of attention paid to this department. On November 4, 1719, for the first time a regular code of rules is drawn up as to the use of the library, and ordered to be written out on parchment and hung up in the library. These rules forbid the possession of a key to any but Master, Fellows and Librarian. No one else is to be admitted without the presence of one of the society or library-keeper. No book of 'common use, that is, such as students according to their several ranks and degree have frequent occasion to consult, and therefore ought to purchase for themselves,' is to be lent to a scholar or other student. Books borrowed are to be entered by the library-keeper, Master, or Fellow, and the date of return by the library-keeper; and a fine of five shillings is to be inflicted

for a breach of any of these rules. The same order contains a resolution that the library-keeper is to make both an alphabetical and class catalogue, to set up new books, and supply pens, two standishes or pots, and keep the library in good order, under a fine of one shilling for every deficiency.

Still, there seems to have been some backwardness in keeping up the supply of new books. For an order of April 10, 1721, directs that 'the money yearly due to the Library from the Commencing Bachelors and Masters of Arts, which used to be laid out by the Steward, shall for the future be disposed of in buying such books as shall be agreed upon by the major part of the Society yearly.' On October 17, 1722, a 'strict and thorough examination into the state of the Library' is ordered, and all books are called in. Two years later, October 28, 1724, the salary of the library-keeper is raised to £10, because 'the former salary appointed for the Library-keeper has upon mature deliberation been judged not to be sufficient encouragement for the care necessarily required to keep the said Library in order.' Whether this measure proved effective does not appear. That the library was used, however, is shown by an order of October 26, 1731, forbidding any lexicon or dictionary being taken out, or any book kept more than a month, under a penalty of five shillings, and the Librarian is forbidden 'to give out books to any lads except they have a note each time from their Tutors.' Yet an inquisition in 1759 discovered that sixty books were missing, and in 1789 as many as 160.

Meanwhile the income of the library had been accumulating instead of being expended in books, so that in

1740 the College borrows £150 of this fund, to pay a call from the Commissioners of the Huntingdon Turnpike. This was partly repaid in 1745, but other similar investments were made in 1746 and 1751, and the income of the library seems to have also accumulated in the hands of Farmer as Master. So that at the end of the century the library had £200 turnpike bonds, and a claim for £224 14s. 5d. upon Farmer's executors, of which £160 was invested in more turnpike bonds. The income of the library was now £20, paid partly by the Steward and partly by the Bursar, plus the interest of this invested capital of £360, which amounted to £18. In subsequent years the payment from the Steward slightly increased, and £10 was contributed by the Ash Estate.

From about 1800 the library-keeper began to be called the Librarian; a regular account was kept, audited each year by two Fellows. The office of Librarian seems henceforth to have been passed down the society, and to have been generally held by one of the Fellows for a varying number of years. The amount of money actually spent in books varies from nothing in some years to about £60 in others. In 1829, the repairs of the library absorbed £80, and no books were bought. A somewhat greater activity set in with the librarianship of R. Cory (1835), who has left some papers showing that he interested himself in the history and care of the library, and when he handed over his office to R. J. Bunch, in 1839, had only £23 19s. 4d. to transfer. Neither Bunch nor his successor, R. Birkett (1848), seems to have bought any books worth mentioning, except that Birkett acquired a Dugdale's *Monasticon*. J. Woolley (1850) and W.

Castlehow (1856) were only a little more active in buying. P. G. Dennis (1862) held office little more than a year, in which he bought little. He was succeeded by S. G. Phear (1864-1866) and Octavius Glover (1866-1870), under whose management the accumulation of balances reached £779 6s. 10d. With the greater part of this, £750 of Government $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock was purchased in 1871, and two years later the interest of this and of the other payments to the library were commuted for £70 a year paid by the Bursar; to which has been added since 1889 a proportion of the fees paid by *ingredientes*, the amount of which varies, of course, with the number of men entering.

Dr. Pearson held the office of Librarian from 1870 to 1884. In these fourteen years he did much work for the library, especially in making a new catalogue, founded on the four-volume Bodleian catalogue of 1738, in place of the old one, which was founded on the three-volume Bodleian of 1674. The new catalogue had been purchased and interleaved by his predecessor, Glover, but the whole labour of recataloguing fell on Dr. Pearson, in whose handwriting nearly all the entries are made. He also composed and printed a separate catalogue of books in the library printed before 1700. He did not purchase new books very largely, but some notable additions were made in his time, such as the *Biographie Universelle* and both series of Migne's *Patrologia*, the price of the latter, £175, being partly provided by the stipend of a vacant divinity lecturership. He printed an index to Migne, and did a great deal in repairing the binding of a large number of the books, and generally in making the library more

useful and available. Lastly, in October, 1874, it was agreed by the Master and Fellows to allow the scholars to take books out in their own name, who thus recovered a privilege which they had lost for more than 200 years.

By an order of December 5, 1883, the Librarian is to be elected every year. Since 1884 the office has been held by the present writer. The number of books purchased has been steadily maintained, at the highest point that the income of the library allows, by the Library Committee first appointed in 1887, which meets once a term, and selects books to be purchased from those suggested by its own members or by other members of the College. It may be particularly mentioned that the library has acquired a very complete collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions. The iron gallery erected in Dr. Pearson's time against the south wall has been extended along the east and west walls, and is now almost full. The catalogue has been completely revised, and the details of many volumes of 'tracts'—in which the library is rich—have been for the first time entered. The MSS. have been recently catalogued and described by Dr. M. R. James, of King's College, and his work will shortly be available. In spite of the loss of books recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the fire of 1811,* the library may be said to contain substantially unimpaired the collection begun by the founder, and frequently, if somewhat fitfully, continued ever since. There are now

* This must refer to books taken out and in various rooms, as the library itself was not injured. On November 2, 1812, the sum of £13 2s. 6d. was received from an insurance company 'for books lost by fire, October 15, 1811.'

over 23,000 volumes in the building, as well as 2,000 in the Junior Students' library. Besides the original books already mentioned as having been given by the founder, the original 'Letters of the Martyrs' (now carefully bound) are intact, and they are recorded, as indicated above, among the very earliest possessions of the library. Among autographs of interest, besides several of the Founder and Sancroft, there is one of Erasmus in a copy of his treatise on the Divorce sent to the Queen, some of Cranmer, and a Vulgate with an inscription in the handwriting of Edward VI. and much interlined by him.

APPENDIX I

EARLIEST ENDOWMENTS OF THE COLLEGE

The following statement as to the earliest endowments of the College is by Mr. J. B. Peace, Bursar of the College:

The evidences of our early history as preserved in College are of two kinds. There are on the one hand the original deeds, such as Queen Elizabeth's grant of leave to found a College, Mildmay's deed of foundation, and the title-deeds of the early property of the College, and on the other hand books of accounts and other records kept by the first body of College officers. Of these books two are of especial interest. One contains, with much other matter, the earliest lists of undergraduates; the other, a large and heavy volume, was used for some seventy years as the Bursar's receipt-book, and in it for a few years was also kept the account of College disbursements. It is to this second volume that we turn for information as to the early endowment of the College. The deed by which Mildmay founded the College was dated May 25, 1584, and on August 1, 1585, Dr. Chaderton, the first Master, made a careful record in this book of the annual rents then due to the College, and arising from property which, during the previous year, had been either gifted to or bought by the

infant foundation. This rental is of considerable interest, and we print it here in full. According to it, the annual value of the College property was then £158 6s. 8d. The stream of early benefaction was still, however, flowing, and in the next few years this amount was considerably increased. By the year 1632 the annual income from rents and annuities had risen to £560.

In comparing the College income at the end of the sixteenth century with its value at the beginning of the twentieth, we must, of course, take account of the very great difference in the value of money, and we must also remember that in earlier times the methods of leasing were also different. A considerable fine or premium was usually paid for a new lease or for a renewal, so that the annual rent does not represent the full return which the College enjoyed from its property. These fines, moreover, were not brought to account in the College audit, but were administered to different College purposes as they were received. Further, there were payments in kind, which were dealt with in the same way.

The following is Chaderton's 'rentall':

'*A rentall made ye first daie of August in ye xxvii*th *yeare of ye Raigne of our Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth of all ye Launds, ten*^{ts}*, Annuities and rents charge in possession now belonging to Emmanuell College in Cambridge.*

'Annuitie.

'The Queene's most excellent ma^{tie} by her lres Patente under ye great Seale of Englande bearing date at Westminster xix° die Februarii A° regno sui vicesimo septimo hath graunted an Annuitie of xvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d} p. Annum for ever to ye saide College to be paide yearlie oute of her

highness Receipt at Westm^{n} at ye feaste of St Michael the Archanngell and the Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons :—xvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

'Rent Charge.

'Sr Robert Jermin Knight by his deede indented bearing date ye xxviith daie of March Anno xxviith Eliz. Reginae is to paie yearlie to ye sayde College a Rent charge of viii^{li}. Att the Feaste of St Michaell the Archangell and ye Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons issuinge or going out of the tenement and landes called Short Smithes in pva Wheltham in the Countie of Suffolke, wth the clause of distresse for ye same if it be not paide within fortie daies next after either of ye same Feasts and under the paine of forfeiture of Tenne Shillings for default of everie payment :—viii^{li}.

'Robert Tailor, Esquier, by his Deede indented bearing date ye eight daie of May A^{o} xxvii^{o} Elizabeth Reginae is to paye yearlie to ye said College a rent charge of xx^{li} at Michaell the Archanngell and The Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons issuing or going out of his Mannor and Parsonage of Babarham in ye Countie of Cambridge wch he lately purchased of Roger Cois, deceased, wth a clause of distresse for ye same if it be not paide within fortie daies next after either of ye same Feasts and under ye paine of forfeiture of Twentie Shillings for default of everie payment :—xx^{li}.

'Edward Leedes of Croxton in ye countie of Camb. Doctor of Law, by his dede indented bearing date ye sixth daie of June A^{o} xxvii^{o} Eliz. Reginae is to paie yerelie a rent charge of xvi^{li} to ye said College Att ye Feaste of St Michaell the Archanngell and ye Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons yerelie issuinge or going out of his Mannor of Great Gransden in ye said Countie wth a clause of distresse for ye same if it be not paide within fortie daies

next after ye same feastes and under ye paine of forfeiture of xx^s for default of everie payment :—xvi^li.

'Francis Hastings, Esquier, by his deed indented bearing date ye xxiiii^th of June A° xxvii° Eliz. Reginae is to paie yearlie a rent charge of viii^li to ye said College at the Feast of St. Michaell the Archanngell and Th' Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons issuing or going out of certen Launds and Tenements in Brascott, Newbold Vernon and Markett Bosworth in ye Countie of Leicester wth a clause of distresse for ye same if it be not paide within fortie daies next after either of ye foresaid feasts under ye paine of forfeiture of Twentie shillings for default of everie payment :—viii^li.

'Farme Rents.

'Valentine Dale, Esquier, one ot ye M^rs ot ye requests to her Matie holdeth by Indenture of Lease from ye said College dated ye xviii^th day of June A° xxvii° Eliz. Reginae for terme of xxi years from ye feaste of ye Annunciation of our Ladie last past before ye date of ye said Indenture xxiii acres of marsh ground lying in Ripley Marsh in ye parish of Barkinge in ye Countie of Essex paying yerelie for ye same xx^lb wch is to be paid half yerelie by even porc̃ons in ye Hall of ye said College with a clause of reentrie if ye same be not paid within xxx^tie next after ye feast daies of payment thereof :—xx^li.

'Nicholas Gentil, Citizen and Pultr of London holdeth by indenture of Lease dated ye xxvii^th daie of February A° xv° Eliz. Reginae for ye terme of xxx^tie yeares from Th' Annunciation of our Ladie next after ye date of ye same indenture, A teñt. with th' appurtenances late in ye tenure of Constance Bickner widow situate in Graces Street in ye parish of Allhallowes in Lombord Street in London and paieth yerelie for ye same at ye feasts of St John Baptist, St Michaell Th' Archanngell, ye na^tiv of our Lord God and

th' Annunciation of our Ladie iiii^{li} by even porc̃ons wth a clause of Reentrie if ye same be not paid wthin a month next after ainie of ye said feasts :—iiii^{li}.

'John Pentecost, Citizen of London, Clothworker holdeth by Indenture of Lease dated ye first daie of February A° octavo Elizabeth Reginae for terme of three score years frõ ye feast of ye na^{tie} of our Lorde God last before ye date of ye same Indenture A teñt with th' appurtenances situate in ye parish of Allhallowes in Lombard Street aforesaid and paieth yerelie for ye same att ye feasts of St John Baptist and ye nativitie of our Lord iiii^{li} wth a clause of reentrie if ye same be not paide within ii monthes next after either of ye same feasts :—iiii^{li}.

'Jhon Northampton of Godmanchester yeoman holdeth by Indenture of Lease dated ye xvth daie of October A° xxv° Eliz. Reginae for termes of xxi yeres frõ ye feast of ye Annunciation of our Ladie next to come after ye date of ye said indenture a Teñt with th' appurtenances in Godmynchester aforesaid, sometime in ye tenure of Jhon Herne, and paieth yerelie for ye same xxvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d} at ye feasts of St. Michaell Th' Archanngell and Th' Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons with cõdicõn yt if ye same be not paide within xiii daies next after either of ye said feasts of payment, then to reenter :—xxvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

'Thomas Fysher of Godmanchester yeoman holdeth by indenture of lease date ye xvith daie of Maie A° xxvi° Eliz. Reg. for ye term of xxi yeres frõ ye feast of ye Annunciation of our Ladie then last past before ye date of ye same Indenture A Teñt called ye Horse Shoe wth ye appurtenances in Godmanchester aforesaid and paieth yerelie for ye same at ye feasts of St John Baptist, St Michaell Th' Archangell, ye Natevitie of Christ, and ye Annunciation of our Ladie xxii^{lb} by even porc̃ons wth cõndicõn yt if ye said

rent be unpaid over or after ye said feasts being lawfullie demanded then to reenter :—xxii^{lb}.

'Reprise.

'Md. thre is yearlie to be paid out of ye said Lands and Teñts in Godmanchester aforesaid for ye maintenance of ye free Grammar Schole thre ye summe of xx^{li} :—xx^{li}.

'Laurence Chaderton Bachelor in Divinitie M^{r} of ye said Colledge is to paie yearlie at ye Feasts of St Michaell Th' Archanngell and Th' Annunciation of our Ladie by even porc̃ons for ye Teñt in Cambridge called St Nicholas Hostell...vii^{li}.

'Mathew Buck, Citizen and Inholder of London holdeth by Indenture of Lease dated ye xiiith daie of December A° xix° Eliz. Reg. for ye terme of foure score and nineteene years from ye feast of ye birth of our Lord God next coming after ye date of ye same Indenture. A capital messuage, teñt, or Inne called ye foure Swannes situate in Byshoppsgate Street in ye parish of St Ethelberge within ye Citie of London. And paieth yerelie for ye same at ye feasts of ye Annunciation of our Ladie, St John Baptist St Michael Th' Archanngell, and the Birth of our Lord God or w^{thin} xxx^{tie} daies next after either of ye said feasts xiii^{lb} by even porc̃ons wth condic̃on y^{t} if ye said rent be not paid w^{thin} xxx^{ie} daies after anie of ye said feasts and no sufficient distresse upon ye premises then to reenter :—xiii^{li}.

'William Wood Citizen and Sadler of London holdeth by Indenture of lease dated ye xvith daie of December A° xviii° Eliz. Reginae for ye terme of 60 years from ye feast of St Michaell Th' Archangell 1585 one messuage or Teñt wth th' appurtenances situate in Bishoppes gate Street in ye parish of St Ethelberge aforesaid and paieth yearlie for ye same at ye feasts of ye Berth of our Lord God, th' annunciation of our Ladie, St John Baptest and St Michaell Th' Archanngell, or w^{thin} xx^{tie} daies next after everie of ye

same feasts iiii^{li} by equal porc̃ons wth proviso y^{t} if ye said rent be not paid w^{thin} xxx^{tie} daies next after anie of ye said feasts then to reenter :—iiii^{li}.

'Jhon Wilde, Citizen and Sadler of London holdeth by indenture of Lease dated ye vth daie of September A^{o} xxiii^{o} Eliz. reginae for ye terme of thirtie and one yeares from ye feast of St Michaell Th' Archanngell next coming after ye date of ye same Indenture one messuage or Teñt with th' appurtenances situate on ye west syde of ye foresaid Teñt called ye signe of ye foure Swannes in Byshoppes gate Street aforesaid and paieth yearlie for ye same at ye feasts of ye birth of our Lord God, Th' Annunciation of our Ladie, ye nativitie of St John Baptist, and St Michaell Th' Archangell, or within xxx^{tie} daies next insueing ye same feasts viii^{lb} by equal porc̃ons wth proviso y^{t} if ye said rent be not paid within xxx^{tie} daies next after anie of ye said feasts or in default be made in any of ye covenants contained in ye same indenture then to reenter :—viii^{li}.'

The following is a summary of the above 'rentall' :

A statement of the Income from lands, tenements, annuities and rent charges, belonging to Emmanuel College at 1st August, 1585 :—

	£	s.	d.
From the Queen	16	13	4
Sir Robert Jermyn's rent charge from lands in Little Whelthan	8	0	0
Mr Robert Taylor's rent charge from the Manor of Babraham	20	0	0
Dr Edward Leedes' rent charge from the Manor of Great Gransden	16	0	0
Mr Francis Hastings' rent charge from land in Market Bosworth, &c.	8	0	0
From Ripley Marsh—Valentine Dale, tenant	20	0	0

	£	s.	d.
From a tenement in Graces Street (or Gracechurch Street)—Nicholas Gentil, tenant	4	0	0
From another tenement in Graces Street—John Pentecost, tenant...	4	0	0
From house and land in Godmanchester—John Northampton or Normanton, tenant	26	13	4
From the Horse Shoe Inn, Godmanchester—Thomas Fisher, tenant	22	0	0
From St Nicholas Hostel—St Andrew's Street, Cambridge—Dr Chaderton, tenant	7	0	0
From the Four Swans, Bishopsgate Street—Mathew Buck, tenant	14	0	0
From the tenement adjoining the Four Swans—William Wood, tenant ...	4	0	0
From the tenement to the west of the Four Swans—John Wild, tenant	8	0	0
	178	6	8
Deduct:			
Annual Payment to the Free School at Godmanchester	20	0	0
Net annual Rentall	158	6	8

The royal grant of an annuity of £16 13s. 4d. was made by deed dated February 19, 1584-85. The deed recites that at the dissolution of the monasteries it was found that Glastonbury Abbey held certain property subject to an annual charge of £33 6s. 8d. for the maintenance of ten scholars or exhibitioners at the University of Oxford; that, the property having passed to the Crown, the payment was continued by Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Eliza-

beth herself, and that now the Queen decreed that half of this annual payment be transferred from Oxford to Cambridge, and be there given to Emmanuel College, lately founded by Sir Walter Mildmay. This Exchequer payment is still received by the College, but office and other charges have diminished it by some £3 a year.

Of the four rent-charges which follow, three—those of Sir Robert Jermyn, Mr. Robert Taylor, and Mr. Francis Hastings — have been either lost or redeemed. The Jermyns of Rushbrooke, Suffolk, had a close connexion with the College. An Edward Jermyn (or Jermin) was entered as a Fellow-commoner in 1585, and Sir Robert's son, Sir Thomas Jermyn, presented Bedell to the living of Horningsheath in 1616. Mr. Robert Taylor, of Babraham, was probably a friend either of Mildmay or of Chaderton. He took part in the negotiations for the College site, which was conveyed to him by George Sherwood in September, 1581, and conveyed by him to Culverwell and Chaderton in June, 1585. Culverwell and Chaderton then handed it over to Mildmay, who granted it to the College in his deed of foundation. The annuity granted by Dr. Leeds, arising out of the Manor of Great Gransden, is now represented by certain manorial rents amounting to about thirty-five shillings per annum, and a small farm allotted, under an enclosure Act, to the College as Lords of the Manor, the College having purchased the manor in 1599.

The meadow in Ripley Marsh was given by Sir Walter Mildmay by a deed dated May 13, 1585. It is still owned by the College, and has probably suffered less change than any other part of the College property. It was let to Dr. Dale in 1585 for £20, and brings in very little more now.

The two houses in Graces or Gracechurch Street, then known as the Harrow and the Ball, now Nos. 74 and

75, were given to the College in July, 1585, by Thomas Smith (or Smyth), 'for the great love, favour, and affection which he beareth to and for the maintenance and increase of virtue and learning.' Smith can be identified, almost with certainty, as a wealthy London merchant, who founded a free school at Tonbridge. He was the first governor of the East India Company, was tried for complicity in Essex's rebellion, but acquitted, was knighted in 1603, was elected treasurer of the Virginia Company 1620, and died 1625.

The Godmanchester property consisted of the Horseshoe Inn, which still retains its ancient name, and some other houses and land. The property was given by the founder in 1585. Its extent has been somewhat increased under enclosure Acts, and the annual payment of £20 to the Godmanchester School is still regularly made.

St. Nicholas' Hostel, in St. Andrew's Street, was the first piece of property in Cambridge, outside the actual site, owned by the College. It was bought in March, 1585, for £150, of which £140 was given by Thomas Killigrew, who gave the money to provide a residence for the Master. Chaderton seems to have resided here, in any case, during the building of the College, and later on after he resigned the mastership. The houses are now Nos. 62 and 63, St. Andrew's Street, immediately beyond the high building of the Liberal Club.

Of the three houses in Bishopsgate Street, two—the Four Swans and another—were given by the founder on November 14, 1585, and the third by John Morly, of Mickleham, Sussex, on the same day. It seems, therefore, that at the date of Chaderton's inventory these houses had not yet been formally conveyed to the College. The name of the Four Swans is still preserved, though in the street directory it is known as Nos. 82 and 84, Bishopsgate Street Within.

The first list of rents received is entered by Chaderton as follows:

'*Rents due to Emmanuel College in Cambridge from the feast of Saint Michael Th' Archangell in Anno* 1585 *receyved by me Laurence Chaderton M^r^ of the same as in the particulars foloving most playnlie appeareth.*

'Cambridge.

'Imprimis receyved for the rent of a house called St Nicholas Hostle due at Michaelmas last six shillings eight pence wch our good founder did appoint and accept for one half years rent in regard of one hundred markes wch I hadd spent upon reparations and buylding that ould house receyved I saye vi^s^ viii^d^.

'Receyved of Goodmã Bosse for his half years rent due at Michaelmas last for his house called the Challice the sum of xxvi^s^ viii^d^.

'R^d^ of Mr Robert Tayleor esquier for his annuitie out of his manor of Babraham for his half years rent due at Michaelmas last tene pounds:—x^li^.

'R^d^ of Mr Doctor Leedes for his Annuitie given out of his lands at Croxton for his half years rent due at Michaelmas last eight pounds:—viii^li^.

'London or Middlesex.

'R^d^ of Mr Doctor Dale one of ye M^rs^ of Th' exchecker for his half years rent due at Michaelmas last ten pounds:—x^li^.

'R^d^ of Mr Raven for her M^aties^ gift out of Th' exchecker for the half years rent due at Michaelmas last eight pounds six shillings and eight pence:—viii^li^ vi^s^ viii^d^.

'Huntingdon.

'R^d^ of Robert Thorp for our land in Godmanchester as parcell of the whole rent, th' other part being bestowed at our founders good discretion four pounds six shillings four pence:—iiii^li^ vi^s^ iiii^d^.'

From this list it appears that no rent had been received from the Gracechurch Street property. This was conveyed to the College in July, but the leases under which it was held by Pentecost and Gentil were transferred as from the following Michaelmas. The Bishopsgate Street rents ran as from Christmas, 1585, the property having been conveyed in November. On the other hand, a receipt of rent appears as from a tenement in Cambridge called the Chalice. This was conveyed to the College in May, 1585, by the gift of Dr. Harvey, and it is not clear why it was omitted in Chaderton's 'rentall.' This house occupied the site on which now stands the shop tenanted by Messrs. Flack and Judge, grocers.

APPENDIX II

THE COLLEGE BENEFACTORS

It would be impossible here to give full details or complete lists of the College property acquired by gift or purchase throughout its existence. It will be enough to get some view of the amount on which it started on its career, and a general view of the means by which it gradually increased, summarizing for the earlier period the statements of Mr. Peace. The return made by Chaderton at the end of the first year of its existence showed a rental of £158 6s. 8d. (equivalent to about £800 at the present value of money). This rental included £16 13s. 4d. from the Exchequer, £8 from the rent-charge given by Jermyn, £20 rent-charge on Babraham Manor given by R. Taylor, £8 rent-charge granted by Francis Hastings, and £16 rent-charge given by E. Leeds of Croxton. The remainder (£99 13s. 4d.) represents what was actually given by the founder, besides the site and buildings. This included lands in Barking, Essex (Ripley Marsh); a house in Lombard Street; a house with appurtenances in Godmanchester, and an inn called the Horseshoe—charged with an annuity of £20 to Godmanchester School; two tenements in Gracechurch Street; the Four Swans in Bishopsgate Street; and two other tenements. The rent-charges named above,

except that of Croxton, have disappeared. They seem all to have been given by friends of Sir Walter Mildmay, or by those who, sympathizing with the object, joined in founding the College. The £140 given by Thomas Killigrew, with which the College made its first purchase (St. Nicholas' Hostel, in St. Andrew's Street) may be counted in the same category. In 1632 the income had risen to £560 per annum, and for some time did not much exceed that (equivalent to about £2,000 at the present day). In 1903 the external College income officially returned for publication was £13,648 19s. 3d.

The subjoined dates as to the earliest acquisitions of the College will show how the estate grew in the first five years of its existence, mainly through the influence of the founder:

1583. June 12: Robert Taylor conveyed the site to Chaderton and Culverwell.
November 23: Chaderton and Culverwell conveyed it to Mildmay.
1584. January 11: Queen Elizabeth granted the license.
May 25: Sir Walter Mildmay sealed the deed of foundation.
May 29: Francis Chamberlain gave the rectory of Little Melton and lands in Great Melton.
1585. January 26: Sir Francis Walsingham gave the advowson of Thurcaston.
February 19: Queen Elizabeth gave an annuity of £16 13s. 4d.
March 27: Sir Robert Jermyn gave an annuity of £8.
March 27: The College bought St. Nicholas' Hostel for £150.

May 8: Robert Taylor gave an annuity of £20 from the Manor of Babraham.

May 12: The College bought the Chalice, in St. Andrew's Street (now Flack and Judge), with money given by Dr. Harvey.

May 13: Mildmay gave land in Ripley Marsh, Barking.

June 15: Dr. Leeds gave an annuity of £16.

July 10: Thomas Smith gave two houses in Gracechurch Street.

August 1: Mildmay gave the Horseshoe, etc., in Godmanchester.

November 14: Mildmay gave the Four Swans, in Bishopsgate Street.

November 14: John Morley gave the house adjoining.

1586. January 22: John Howson gave tenements in St. Dunton's Alley.

1587. July 17: The College purchased Hyde Farm, Balham, and other land with Mrs. Frankland's gift.

July 24: Dr. Leeds gave the Pensionary in Emmanuel Lane.

May 19: Nich. Fuller gave houses in West Smithfield.

1588. March 2: Thomas Skinner gave an annuity of £8.

April 12: Sir Walter Mildmay bought up R. Symons' lease of the Pensionary and gave it to the College.

July 1: Sir Walter Mildmay gave land at Stondon.

September 27: John Barns, by will, gave houses in Threadneedle Street.

October 25: Sir Walter Mildmay gave £8 annuity from Standground.

1589. March 6: Robert Snagg gave an annuity of £6 13s. 4d.

After 1589, the year of Mildmay's death, gifts were much less frequent.

It will be seen that among the earliest benefactions were advowsons of livings. Sir Walter had given one only —Standground. But as the Fellows were to vacate their Fellowships at the standing of D.D., and were expected then to take up clerical duties, it was of great importance to them that there should be livings to which they might succeed. Hence, one object of the Dixie benefaction was the purchase of advowsons. The College is now the patron of twenty-four livings.

The list of benefactors read yearly in chapel will give a sufficient view of gradual growth of the estate, and the channels through which that increase has found its way into the hands of the College.

LIST OF BENEFACTORS YEARLY COMMEMORATED IN THE COLLEGE CHAPEL

The right honourable Sir Walter Mildmay, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, Founder, 1584.

26 Eliz., 11 Jan.; 27 Eliz., 19 Feb.: Queen Elizabeth, besides her patent and license of mortmain, gave a perpetual annuity out of her Royal Exchequer.

28 Eliz., 19 Jan.: The right honourable Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, gave the perpetual patronage of the rectories of Loughborough, Aller, and North Cadbury.

Sir Francis Hastings, Knight, brother to the said Earl, gave eight pounds per annum.

27 Eliz., 26 Jan.: Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,

Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, gave the perpetual patronage of the rectory of Thurcaston.

26 Eliz., 16 Nov.; 32 Eliz.: Sir Wolstan Dixie, Knight, gave six hundred and fifty pounds towards building the College, and six hundred pounds for the maintenance of two Fellows and two scholars of his foundation.

36 Eliz., 20 Apr.: The Lady Agnes, his wife, gave eight pounds per annum for a Hebrew and Greek lecture.

Sir John Hart, Knight, gave fifty pounds towards building the College.

27 Eliz., 16 Jun.; 29 Eliz., 24 Jul.: Edward Leeds, Doctor of Laws, Master of Clare Hall, gave a thousand marks towards building the College and sixteen pounds per annum.

29 Eliz., 17 Jul.: Mrs. Walters, widow of Richard Walters, citizen of London, and Mrs. Joyce Franklyn, gave each four hundred pounds towards augmenting the number of Fellows and scholars.

30 Eliz., 3 Jul.: William Romney, Esquire, sometime Lord Mayor of London, gave the perpetual patronage of the rectory of North Luffenham.

The reverend Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, gave twenty-five pounds per annum for four exhibitions.

44 Eliz.: Edmund English, of the city of Westminster, Esquire, gave one thousand pounds for augmenting the number of Fellows and scholars.

30 Eliz., 16 Jul.: William Neal, of London, Esquire, gave the perpetual patronage of Brompton Regis and Winsford.

The reverend William Sandcroft, Doctor in Divinity and Master of the College, gave one hundred pounds to buy plate for the Communion.

1654: Mr. Francis Ash, citizen of London, settled lands on the College to the value of one hundred and

seventy pounds per annum for the foundation of scholarships and for other purposes.

1656: The reverend JOHN WELLS, Rector of Thurning, gave the perpetual patronage of that living, to which he annexed some lands, charged with the maintenance of an exhibition.

A.D. 1670: The reverend BENJAMIN WHICHCOT, Doctor in Divinity, sometime Fellow of the College, in execution of the will of JOHN LARKIN, gave one thousand pounds for founding scholarships and for other advantages of the College.

A.D. 1670: The reverend JOHN SUDBURY, Doctor in Divinity, Dean of Durham, gave about five hundred pounds for the maintenance of a Greek Lecturer, for providing a piece of plate to be given yearly to the best proficient in Literature among the commencing Bachelors of Arts, and for other uses of the College.

A.D. 1684: The most reverend WILLIAM SANCROFT, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, sometime Master of the College, gave towards the building of the chapel about five hundred and eighty pounds; besides other benefactions, including a valuable treasure of books. He also gave the perpetual patronage of the consolidated vicarage of Fressingfield and the rectory of Withersdale in Suffolk.

Sir ROBERT GAYER, Knight of the Bath, gave one thousand and forty pounds towards the building of the chapel.

A.D. 1675: The reverend JOHN BRETON, Doctor in Divinity, Master of the College, gave the perpetual patronage of Wallington in Hertfordshire.

A.D. 1680: The reverend THOMAS HOLBECH, Doctor in Divinity, Master of the College, gave by his will about fifty pounds per annum for maintaining a Catechist and Ecclesiastical Lecturer, and for other uses of the College.

A.D. 1621: ROBERT RYCE, Esquire, gave the perpetual

patronage of the vicarage of Preston in Suffolk, endowed with the impropriated rectory of the same.

A.D. 1722: The reverend Richard Gillingham, Master of Arts of the College and Vicar of Chigwell in Essex, gave sixteen hundred pounds for the founding of a Fellowship.

A.D. 1736: The reverend John Brown, Bachelor in Divinity, sometime Fellow of the College and Rector of Wallington in Hertfordshire, gave upwards of two thousand pounds for the augmentation of the stipend of the Master and Fellows, and for the founding of two scholarships.

The reverend Michael Smith, Doctor in Divinity of this College, left by will seven hundred pounds to purchase lands, out of which the sum of sixteen pounds per annum is allotted towards the maintenance of an exhibitioner, and the remainder to other uses of the College.

The reverend George Thorpe, Doctor in Divinity, sometime Fellow of the College and Prebendary of Canterbury, gave property in Kent to the value of one hundred and ten pounds per annum, with a manor belonging thereto, for five exhibitions and other uses of the College.

A.D. 1636: Mr. Walter Travers, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, gave one hundred pounds for the founding of a scholarship.

Thomas Hobs, Esquire, gave about eight pounds per annum for two exhibitions.

A.D. 1639: Mr. Walter Richards, sometime of the College, gave eight pounds per annum for two exhibitions.

Mrs. Ann Hunt, of the county of Suffolk, widow, by the appointment of her son, Mr. John Collins, Bachelor of Laws, Fellow-commoner, gave ten pounds per annum towards the maintenance of two scholars.

A.D. 1778: The reverend Henry Hubbard, Bachelor in Divinity, many years Fellow of the College and Registrary

of the University, gave upwards of four thousand pounds, part of which he appropriated to the augmentation of the stipend of the best and most able scholar upon Dr. Thorpe's foundation. He also bequeathed to the College a valuable collection of books.

Among later benefactors are:

A.D. 1830: Mr. Henry Lusby, of Stratford in Essex, who gave property at Stratford, Hornechurch, and Navestock, to the value of three hundred and thirty pounds per annum.

The reverend John Cooke gave the sum of two hundred pounds for the increase of the plate money left by Dr. Sudbury and Mr. Hubbard.

A.D. 1871: The reverend George Archdall-Gratwicke, Doctor of Divinity, late Master of this College, left by will the sum of six thousand pounds for the general uses of the College.

Besides these benefactions more particularly described, there are others whose gifts have enriched the general revenues:

27 Eliz., 27 Mar.: Sir Robert Jermyn, Knight.

27 Eliz., 27 Mar.: Sir Thomas Killegrew, of the county of Cornwall, Knight.

27 Eliz., 20 Jul.: Sir Thomas Smith, Knight.

30 Eliz., 2 Mar.: Sir Thomas Skinner, Knight.

Mr. Anthony Radcliffe, Alderman of London.

30 Eliz., 3 Oct.: The Lady Mary Darrell, of the county of Essex.

Mrs. Martha Jermyn.

Mrs. Owen, of London.

27 Eliz., 12 May: Henry Harvey, Doctor of Laws, Master of Trinity Hall.

18 Jac., 22 Mar.: William Branthwait, Doctor in

Divinity, Fellow of the College, afterwards Master of Gonville and Caius College.

27 Eliz., 8 May: Robert Taylor, Esquire.

29 Eliz., 7 Oct.: Nicholas Fuller, of Gray's Inn, Esquire.

Mr. Ellys, of Yorkshire.

Mr. Richard Culverwell, citizen of London.

Mr. Fish, citizen of London.

John Spenliffe, of Fulthorpe in Lincolnshire, Esquire.

28 Eliz., 6 Nov.: Robert Sneg, of Letchworth in Hertfordshire, Esquire.

27 Eliz., 14 Nov.: Mr. John Morley, of Michaelham in Sussex.

Mr. John Sleigh, of Bernard's Inn.

30 Eliz., 27 Sept.: Mr. John Barns, citizen of London.

A.D. 1618: The Lady Grace Mildmay, wife of Sir Anthony Mildmay.

The reverend Thomas Alleyne, late Fellow of the College, and afterwards Rector of Loughborough.

The right reverend Richard Hurd, Lord Bishop of Worcester, many years Fellow of the College.

Richard Hurd, Esquire, nephew of the last-named Lord Bishop of Worcester.

The reverend James Devie, Bachelor in Divinity, Fellow of the College, and afterwards Vicar of Standground.

APPENDIX III

THE PICTURES

In the Hall.

East Wall.

Centre : The Founder, holding his staff of office. (This picture is probably not genuine.)
Right : Sir W. Mildmay (purchased from Apethorp).
Left : Lady Mildmay (purchased from Apethorp).

North Wall.

J. Sudbury, D.D.
Benjamin Whichcot, D.D.
Henry Hubbard, B.D.

South Wall.

Mr. Francis Ash.
George Thorpe, D.D.
W. Richardson, D.D.

In the Combination-Room.

The Founder.
R. Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells (Mary Beale).
W. Younge (a late copy).

John Bradshaw, regicide (presented by Huyshe Yateman, Bishop of Southwark, late Dixie Scholar).
Oliver Cromwell (presented by Rev. G. P. Haydon, B.A. 1868).
E. H. Browne, D.D., Fellow, Bishop of Ely and Winchester (G. F. Watts).
F. J. A. Hort, D.D., Fellow, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (Jacomb Hood).
Mandel Creighton, D.D., first Dixie Professor, Bishop of Peterborough and London (H. Harris Brown).
Samuel Parr, LL.D. (Romney).
Richard Farmer, D.D. (Romney).
Sir Wolstan Dixie, benefactor (1525-1594).

In the Lodge.

Study.

Mr. Thornton.
Benjamin Middleton. } Fellow Commoners.
William Kingsley, A.M. (Mary Beale).

Dining-Room.

Sir William Temple (Lely).
Sir Edmund Bacon.
Dr. Balderston.

Staircase.

John Fane, Lord Westmorland, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1790 (Romney).

Anteroom of Gallery.

The Founder, dated 1579.

The Gallery.

Nos.

18. The Founder, painted for the College, and placed originally in the library, dated 1588.
12. The Founder, dated 1588.
19. Anthony Mildmay, son of the Founder, ob. 1617.
20. Grace, Lady Mildmay, widow of Sir Anthony and daughter of Sir Henry Sherringham.
7. Ralf Simonds, architect of the College.
25. Dr. Preston, second Master of the College (1622-1628).
1. Dr. Breton, Master 1665-1674.
34. Dr. Holbech, Master 1674-1680.
4. William Branthwaite, Fellow 1584, Master of Caius, 1607.
32. Samuel Ward, Fellow 1595, Master of Sidney.
30. Joseph Hall, Fellow 1595, Bishop of Bristol and Norwich.
6. Ralf Cudworth, Fellow 1639-1654, Master of Christ's.
3. Benjamin Whichcote, Fellow 1633-1643, Provost of King's.
9. Lord Keeper Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1628.
10. Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice, 1681.
13. Rev. Benjamin Pemberton, Fellow 1739 (Romney).
8. W. Sancroft, D.D., Master 1662-63; Archbishop of Canterbury.
15. Sir Purey Cust, fought at the Battle of the Boyne.
2. John Sudbury, D.D., Dean of Durham, ob. 1684.
17. Joshua Barnes, Fellow 1678, Greek Professor 1695.
27. William Richardson, D.D., Master 1736-1775.
22. Henry Hubbard, B.D., Tutor 1736-1767.
33. Richard Hurd, D.D., Fellow 1742, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Gainsborough).

Nos.

26. James Gardiner, Bishop of Lincoln, 1694-1709.
21. Charles Jackson, Bishop of Kildare (Gainsborough).
23. William Bennet, D.D., Fellow 1773, Bishop of Cloyne, 1794.
34. Roger Long, D.D., Master of Pembroke, 1733-1770.
14. Peter Allix, D.D., French pastor and historian of the Waldenses (1641-1717).
29. Anthony Askew, M.D., scholar and book collector (1722-1774).
9. Mrs. Joyce Frankland, benefactress, *ob.* 1587.
6. Francis Ash, citizen of London, founder of the Ash Exhibitions.
7. George Thorpe, D.D., Fellow 1663, Canon of Canterbury.
11. Earl of Westmorland (Charles Francis, 1690).
28. An unknown Lady of the time of Elizabeth.

APPENDIX IV

THE COLLEGE PATRONAGE

The livings in the gift of the College came, for the most part, early into its possession, except those which have been purchased from time to time by the accumulations from the Dixie estate. The advowsons given to the College are:

1. Standground and Farcet, Huntingdonshire, given by the founder. They were at first united, but were separated in 1885.*

2. Loughborough, Leicestershire, given by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1586. In 1848 the living was divided into two rectories, namely, Loughborough and Emmanuel Church.

3. Thurcaston, Leicestershire, given by Sir Francis Walsingham in 1585.

4. North Cadbury, Somersetshire, given by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1586. The possession of this advowson was contested in 1624 and 1644, but on both occasions the suit went in favour of the College.

* The founder also gave the patronage of Queen Camel in Somersetshire; but it was afterwards united to other livings, and was lost to the College. It is still in the patronage of a Mildmay.

5. Aller, Somersetshire, given by the Earl of Huntingdon, to which the College first presented in 1632.*

6. North Luffenham, Rutland, given by William Romney, Lord Mayor of London in 1591.

7. Fressingfield cum Withersdale, Suffolk, given by Archbishop Sancroft in 1684. The Master presents to this living.

8. Twyford, Hampshire, left to the College in 1704 by Carew Mildmay, on condition that the College should nominate, and the heir of Mildmay present. Originally it was the practice for the College to nominate two, of which the heir of Mildmay chose one.

[9. Wallington, Hertfordshire, given by John Breton, Master 1665-1675. The Master was to nominate and present, but must choose one of the society. The advowson of this living was sold by the College in 1899 to Mr. D. Owen for £700.]

10. Thurning, Huntingdonshire, bequeathed to the College in 1656 by John Wells, who was encumbent and patron of the living. He also left a sum of money to the College.

11. Brompton Regis, Somersetshire, given by William Neale in 1609.

12. Winston, Somersetshire, given also by W. Neale.

13. Preston, Suffolk, given in 1621 by Robert Rice.†

* Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon (1535-1595), brother-in-law of Lord Leicester, being descended from the Poles, had some claim to the throne after Elizabeth, and was thought to have favoured the Puritans, hoping for their support. Besides the two livings given by him, he also settled on Emmanuel the vicarage of Piddleton in Dorsetshire, but by some flaw in the deed it was lost to the College.

† The living of Hemstead in Suffolk was also left on condition that the College made the next three presentations, and then came to some arrangement with the heir; but after the third presentation, in 1750, the heir contested the case, and apparently won.

Other livings have been purchased by accumulations from the Dixie estate, in accordance with the will of Sir Wolstan Dixie, who, having contributed £650 to the building of the College, left, at his death in 1594, the sum of £600 to purchase an estate to endow two Fellowships and two scholarships. The stipend of the Fellows (who had not the rights or status of foundation Fellows) and of the scholars was small, and the estate purchased by this benefaction in time produced a considerable surplus, the accumulation of which was accordingly invested from time to time in advowsons, the presentation to which was alternately to a Dixie Fellow and a foundation Fellow. The Commissioners of 1881 abolished the Fellowships and the purchase of advowsons, and devoted the proceeds of the estate to the endowment of the Dixie Professorship of Ecclesiastical History and three Dixie Exhibitions of £30 a year. The heir of the founder, however, still nominates to three livings (North Benfleet, Boddington, Brantham), and the College presents, provided that the person nominated be a graduate of Emmanuel who is either akin to Sir W. Dixie or has been educated for a year at Market Bosworth School.

The livings thus purchased are:

Brantham and East Bergholt ...	Suffolk.
North Benfleet and Little Bentley	Essex.
Lechdale	Gloucestershire.
Winteringham	Lincolnshire.
Upper Boddington	Northamptonshire.
Blechingley	Surrey.

Two other pieces of patronage were bestowed on the College at various times—the appointment of the Masters of Harleston and Bungay Schools. The former was given by Archbishop Sancroft in 1688. It was connected with

the establishment of a 'daily office of Divine service in the ancient chapel of Harleston in Norfolk, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England by law established.' He assigned to the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College a perpetual rent of £54 from the hereditary revenue of Excise which had been granted to the Archbishop by one Robert Walsted, of London, goldsmith, in payment of a debt of about £900. The ancient chapel had long been disused, and had no endowment. The mastership of the grammar-school is still attached to this chaplaincy, and is now held by Archdeacon Perowne, appointed June 6, 1874.

One of the earliest possessions of the College was a rent-charge of £10 and the patronage of the free school at Bungay, given by Thomas Popeson, M.A., formerly Fellow of King's College. In virtue of the new scheme sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners the school is now managed by a governing body, which appoints the Master. Emmanuel College nominates one member of this body.

APPENDIX V

THE CHAPEL

The history of the erection and fittings of the chapel has been given in the course of this book. It should be added here that a renovation of the chapel took place in 1883, which has considerably altered its internal appearance. In 1872 the large glass chandelier which used to hang from the centre of the ceiling was removed, and gas was temporarily introduced. But in 1883 the walls and ceilings were carefully recoloured and decorated, and stained glass put in the windows. The whole work was superintended and designed by Arthur William Blomfield, and carried out by Heaton and Butler. At the same time, in order to protect the new decorations, electric light was introduced under the superintendence of two of the Fellows, who happened to be experts: Mr. W. N. Shaw (since Secretary to the Meteorological Office) and Mr. E. Hopkinson. The subjects of the stained-glass windows and the facts commemorated on the panels were selected mainly by Dr. Hort, whose object was to represent the complete story of the Christian Church, and of the development of learning from the third century to the early days of the College. The breadth and liberality of view disclosed by this design will be seen by the subjoined description,

which was drawn up by Dr. Hort's own hand. I may add that since that time the walls have been adorned by brass tablets in memory of Dr. Hort, Bishops Browne and Creighton, John Harvard, and of Hugh Chalford Blackden, who died in South Africa during the war. By a special clause in the act of consecration, the right was reserved to bury in the chapel and cloister. Accordingly, Chaderton's body was removed there, and some of the succeeding Masters were also buried in the chapel itself or in the cloister. But the tombs were all marked by flat stones on the floor; the placing of brass plates on the walls, if continued, will materially alter the appearance of the oak panelling.

The subjects of the windows of the chapel, from east to west, are, first, theologians representative of the Early and Middle Ages, and of the two earliest stages of the English Reformation, and then theologians educated at Emmanuel College. The windows on the north side commemorate services rendered chiefly to the organization of institutions and to systematic theology; the windows on the south side commemorate services rendered chiefly to inward life and thought and to speculative theology.

NORTH SIDE.

First Window: Early and Middle Ages.

Augustinus, holding his book *De civitate Dei*. Born at Tagaste about 354; died at Hippo in 430.

Anselmus, holding his books *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. Born at Aosta about 1033; died at Canterbury in 1109.

Second Window: The English Reformation.

John Fisher, holding Christ's College, Cambridge. Born at Beverley in 1459; beheaded on Tower Hill in 1535.

THOMAS CRANMER, holding the first English Book of Common Prayer. Born in Nottinghamshire in 1489; burned at Oxford in 1556.

THIRD WINDOW: THEOLOGIANS EDUCATED AT EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

LAURENCE CHADERTON, holding scroll, 'Ut verbum Domini currat et glorificetur' (2 Thess. iii. 1). Born at Oldham about 1536; died at Cambridge in 1640.

JOHN HARVARD, holding scroll, 'Populus qui creabitur laudabit Dominum' (Ps. cii. 18). Born in Middlesex 1607; died at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1638.

FOURTH WINDOW: THEOLOGIANS EDUCATED AT EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

WILLIAM BEDELL, holding scroll, 'Ædificare deserta sæculorum' (Isa. lviii. 12). Born in Essex in 1571; died at Kilmore, Ireland, in 1642.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, holding scroll, 'Memento dierum antiquorum' (Ps. cxliii. 5). Born at Fressingfield in 1616; died at Fressingfield in 1693.

SOUTH SIDE.

FIRST WINDOW: EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

ORIGENES, holding his book Περι αρχων. Born at Alexandria about 185; died at Tyre about 254.

JOANNES SCOTUS ERIUGENA, holding his book Περι φυσεων. Born in Ireland in the ninth century; died at Malmesbury about 891.

Second Window: The English Reformation.

John Colet, holding St. Paul's School, London. Born in London about 1466; died in London in 1519.

William Tindale, holding the first printed English New Testament. Born in Gloucestershire about 1485; strangled at Vilvorde in 1536.

Third Window: Theologians educated at Emmanuel College.

Benjamin Whichcote, holding scroll, 'Lucerna Domini spiritus hominis' (Prov. xx. 27). Born in Shropshire in 1610; died at Cambridge in 1683.

Peter Sterry, holding scroll, 'Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus' (1 Cor. xv. 28). Born in Surrey about 1614; died in 1672.

Fourth Window: Theologians educated at Emmanuel College.

John Smith, holding scroll, 'Renovari in agnitionem secundum imaginem Creatoris' (Col. iii. 10). Born in Northamptonshire in 1616; died at Cambridge in 1652.

William Law, holding scroll, 'Credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis' (John xii. 36). Born at Kingscliffe in 1686; died at Kingscliffe in 1761.

The panels of the walls of the chapel are inscribed according to an arrangement corresponding with the arrangement of the windows. The north and south sides are united by texts inscribed in the panels of the east wall.

EAST WALL.

North.		South.
VNVM	SVRSVM CORDA	VNVS
CORPVS		SPIRITVS
IN QVO OMNIS		IN IPSO
AEDIFICATIO CONPACTA		VITA ERAT
CRESCIT IN TEMPLVM		ET VITA ERAT
SANCTVM IN DOMINO		LVX HOMINVM

VOCABITVR NOMEN EIVS EMMANVEL
NOBISCVM DEVS

The narrow panels flanking the east wall contain—

North: The pastoral staff resting on the cross, with the olive above.

South: The vine twined around the cross, with the pomegranate above.

The panels between the first and second windows represent the two great reforming Orders of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, on the site of whose houses in Cambridge the two Elizabethan foundations of Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex College were established. The last name on each panel is that of a precursor of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The panels between the second and third windows represent the revival of letters and the sciences relating to man, and the revival of the sciences relating to nature.

The panels between the third and fourth windows commemorate services rendered by men educated at Emmanuel College to the sciences relating to man, and to the sciences relating to nature.

NORTH SIDE.

First Panels: Ordo Fratrum Prædicatorum.

Dominicus: born in Old Castile in 1170; died in Bologna in 1221.

Thomas Aquinas: born at Aquino about 1225; died at Terracina in 1274.

Albertus Magnus: born in Suabia in 1193; died at Cologne in 1280.

Hieronymus Savonarola: born at Ferrara in 1452; burned at Florence in 1498.

Second Panels: Instauratio Scientiarum Naturalium.

René Descartes: born in Touraine in 1596; died at Stockholm in 1650.

Francis Bacon: born in London in 1560; died at Highgate in 1626.

John Ray: born near Braintree in 1628; died near Braintree in 1704.

Isaac Newton: born at Woolsthorpe in 1642; died in London in 1727.

Third Panels: Inquisitio Naturalis Collegii Emmanuelis.

Jeremiah Horrox: born at Toxteth in 1619; died at Toxteth in 1640.

John Wallis: born at Ashford in 1616; died at Oxford in 1703.

John Martyn: born in London in 1699; died at Chelsea in 1768.

Thomas Young: born at Milverton in 1773; died in London in 1829.

SOUTH SIDE.

First Panels: Ordo Fratrum Minorum.

Franciscus: born at Assisi in 1182; died at Assisi in 1226.

Bonaventura: born in Tuscany in 1221; died at Lyons in 1274.

Joannes Duns Scotus: born about 1270; died at Cologne in 1308.

Willelmus Ockham: born at Ockham in 1280; died at Munich in 1332.

Second Panels: Instauratio Scientiarum Humanarum.

Dante Alighieri: born at Florence in 1265; died at Ravenna in 1321.

Pico di Mirandula: born at Mirandula in 1463; died at Florence in 1494.

Johann Reuchlin: born at Pforzheim in 1455; died at Liebenzell in 1522.

Desiderius Erasmus: born at Rotterdam about 1465; died at Basel in 1536.

Third Panels: Inquisitio Humana Collegii Emmanuelis.

Roger Twysden: born in 1597; died at East Peckham in 1672.

Edmund Castle: born in Cambridgeshire in 1606; died in London in 1685.

Ralph Cudworth: born in Somersetshire in 1617; died at Cambridge in 1688.

William Gell: born in Derbyshire in 1777; died at Naples in 1836.

APPENDIX VI

EMMANUEL MEN WHO HAVE TAKEN A FIRST CLASS IN HONOURS SINCE THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRIPOS, OR GAINED UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS OR PRIZES

The following lists give a measure of the success of the College in the University. They are not as interesting or important as a statement of the after-career of men educated at the College would be, but they have a certain value. It is somewhat remarkable that, though the College had a fair share of success in the Mathematical Tripos from the first, it seemed slow in taking up with any effect the newer Tripos in Classics. There were no first class men for twenty years (1825-1845). Nor does the Classical degree seem to have been much taken into account for election to a Fellowship, not one of the six from 1846 to 1858 having been elected. There may, of course, have been other reasons for this, either personal to the men or their county. It was not because the College undervalued Classics at the time. They took pains to get good Lecturers on the subject, the late Richard Shilleto having for some time acted in that capacity, and in 1850 and 1857 elections were made from other Colleges, with the view of strengthening that side of the teaching. In recent years it will be seen that a much greater success has been

obtained in this Tripos, partly, no doubt, owing to increased numbers, but also greatly to the energy and ability of the Tutors and Lecturers. In the more modern Triposes the greatest success has been in the Natural Sciences. In the Semitic Languages Tripos and the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos no first has been obtained.

WRANGLERS IN THE MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS (ESTABLISHED 1747).

1748.	Gordon.	1820.	Shelford.
	Pemberton.	1823.	Foley.
1749.	Richardson.	1824.	Warden.
	Stona.	1828.	Tuck.
1755.	Hingeston.	1829.	Birkett.
1756.	Gilbert.	1830.	Whall.
1758.	Bristed.		Buston.
1759.	Oliver.	1832.	Browne.
1760.	Backall.		Lloyd.
1762.	Turner.	1833.	Cartmell.
1764.	Francklin.	1838.	Woolley.
1770.	Oldershaw.	1839.	Williams.
1771.	Bateman.	1842.	Castlehow.
1774.	Elleray.		Carter.
1776.	Oldershaw (senior).	1843.	Pix.
1777.	Sutton.	1844.	Nicholson.
1778.	Taylor.	1845.	Power.
	Franklin.		Dennis.
1780.	Cory.	1847.	Treacy.
1782.	Hardy.		Gurney.
1783.	Wade.	1848.	Horley.
1791.	Dunn.	1849.	Cornwell.
1792.	Allsopp.	1850.	Sale.
1794.	Pemberton.		Munn.
1798.	Lamb.	1851.	Chalker.
1804.	Slade.		Matthew.
1815.	Burroughs.		West.
1817.	Cantis.	1852.	Phear.
1818.	Pope.	1853.	Batty.

1854. Glover.
Candy.
Sturges.
Almond.
Rawlinson.
1855. Reynolds.
Jones.
1856. Dyson.
Street.
Edridge.
Glen.
1857. Porcher.
1858. Hewitt.
1859. Jones.
1860. Lee.
Blissard.
MacCarthy.
Walsh.
1861. Thurlbourn.
Griffith.
Armitage.
1862. Chapman.
Bowker.
1863. Rose.
Besant.
1865. Pitts.
1866. Davies.
1867. Watherston.
Gaskin.
Clarke.
Prior.
Bevan.
1868. Meaden.
Day.
1869. Godfray.
Blenkiron.
Firth.
Kaye.
1871. Reith.
1872. Langley.
Stebbing.
1873. Irons.
Hodgins.
1874. Craik.
Stuart.
Allcock.
1876. Bishop.
Shaw.
1877. Sharratt.
Lyon.
Fuller.
1878. Allcock.
1880. Allcock.
Mackenzie.
Noaks.
1881. Hopkinson.
Davison.
1882, Pt. i. Pattisson.
1883, Pt. i. Sharpe.
Creak.
French.
1884, Pt. i. Chapman.
1885, Pt. i. Barnard.
King.
1886, Pt. ii. Barnard.
1886, Pt. i. Rosenberg.
1887, Pt. i. Peace.
Osborn.
1888, Pt. i. Cole.
Morgan.
1889, Pt. i. Oldland.
Crook.
1890, Pt. i. Denmead.
1891, Pt. i. Hyett.

1892, Pt. i. Craig. Estcourt.
1894, Pt. i. Carslaw. Green. Yewdall.
1895, Pt. ii. Carslaw.
1896, Pt. i. Messer. Byron.
1897, Pt. i. Wagstaff. Slater.
1898, Pt. i. Lane.
1899, Pt. i. Bishop. Goodwin.
1901, Pt. i. Knapman.
1902, Pt. ii. Knapman.
1902, Pt. i. Wood. Clarke.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS (ESTABLISHED 1824).

1825. Wimberley. ✕
1846. Romanis.
1851. Phillips.
1852. Wimberley. ✝
1853. Johnson.
1858. Barton.
1866. Shuckburgh. Wood.
1869. Rodwell.
1871. Chawner. Adams. Manby.
1874. Streane.
1876. Flather. Wilson.
1877. Higgens.
1879. Luckham.
1882, Pt. i. Crawford.
1885, Pt. i. Asplen.
1887, Pt. i. Swift.
1889, Pt. i. Crawley. Middleton
1890, Pt. ii. Crawley. Middleton.
1890. Arnold. Kelsey.
1891. Crouch.
1892. Bryant.
1893, Pt. ii. Bryant.
1893, Pt. i. Pike.
1894, Pt. ii. Welford
1894, Pt. i. Cabell. Clayton. Fuller. Sworder.
1895, Pt. i. Barstow.
1896, Pt. i. Jones.
1896, Pt. ii. Barstow.
1897, Pt. i. Briggs. Bruce. Edmonds.

1898, Pt. ii. Edmonds.

1898, Pt. i. Davies. Howell.

1899, Pt. i. Marshall. West-Watson. Thomas.

1900, Pt. ii. Marshall.

1900, Pt. i. Keeton.

1901, Pt. i. Hopkins. Buckley. Dawkins. Hooper.

1902, Pt. ii. Dawkins.

1902, Pt. i. Darbyshire. Dobson. Hind. Rawlinson.

Moral Sciences Tripos (established 1851).

1867. Cary (senior).

Natural Sciences Tripos (established 1851).

1855. Candy.
1857. Preston.
1858. Nottidge.
1876. Shaw.
1877. Ohm.
1881. Robb.

1882, Pt. i. Carter.

1884, Pt. i. Dickinson.

1885, Pt. i. Couldridge.

1886, Pt. i. Carr.

1887, Pt. ii. Couldridge.

1888, Pt. i. Perkins. Wilkinson

1891, Pt. i. Eichholz. Taylor.

1892, Pt. ii. Eichholz.

1892, Pt. i. Cooper

1893, Pt. ii. Cooper.

1893, Pt. i. Eve.

1894, Pt. ii. Eve.

1894, Pt. i. King. Porter.

1895, Pt. ii. Green.

1895, Pt. i. Biffen. Gabriel.

1896, Pt. ii. Biffen.

1896, Pt. i. Crofts. Ermen. Lempfert. Parker.

1897, Pt. i. Hall. Rennie.
1898, Pt. ii. Lempfert.
1898, Pt. i. Clarke. Kerslake. Wagstaff.
1899, Pt. i. Mellanby. Stuart. Tuck.
1900, Pt. ii. Mellanby.
1900, Pt. i. Goodwin. Heaton.
1902, Pt. i. Butler. Hodge. Picton. Rothera. Smith.

THEOLOGICAL TRIPOS (ESTABLISHED 1874).

1875. Streane.
1884, Pt. i. Hervey.
1888, Pt. i. Waddington.
1889, Pt. ii. Swift.
1891, Pt. i. Crook.
1894, Pt. i. Sedgwick.
1895, Pt. i. Sopwith.
1901, Pt. i. West-Watson.

CIVIL LAW CLASSES (FROM 1815).

1816. Fitzthomas.
1824. Long.
1847. Wild.
1850. Moxon.
1853. Bedford.
1855. King. Green.

LAW TRIPOS (ESTABLISHED 1858).

1866. Wood.
1867. Couch.
1869. Staffurth.
1883. Pattisson.
1901, Pt. i. Sutton.
1902, Pt. ii. Sutton.

HISTORICAL TRIPOS (ESTABLISHED 1875).

1896. Head.
1902, Pt. ii. Hopkins.
1902, Pt. i. Appasamy.

Indian Languages Tripos (established 1879).

1889. Chapman.

Mechanical Sciences Tripos (established 1894).

1898, Pt. i. } Head. 1899, Pt. ii. } Head.

The highest honour in Classics is the Chancellor's Medal, first given in 1752. This has as yet only been brought to Emmanuel twice: by R. K. Rodwell in 1869, and F. H. Marshall in 1901. The highest Mathematical honour is the Smith's Prize, established in 1769. This has been won by the two Oldershaws in 1770 and 1776, and by W. Taylor 1778, R. B. Batty 1853, G. H. Stuart 1874. University Scholarships have only been won by J. B. Seale (Craven) 1770, F. H. Marshall (Davies) 1900, and C. Ransford (Bell) 1902. The Tyrwhit Hebrew Scholarship has come more frequently into the College: it has been gained by R. Buston 1832, E. H. Browne (Bishop of Ely and Winchester) 1834, P. Carlyon 1836, W. H. Roberts 1839, H. G. Williams 1840, C. Chambers 1842, O. Glover 1856, A. T. Chapman 1865, W. E. Waddington 1890. The Whewell Scholarship for International Law (established 1860) has been won by J. G. Wood 1868 (who also won the Chancellor's Medal for Law in 1868), F. W. Head 1897; the Lightfoot for Ecclesiastical History (established 1874) by J. H. Flather 1877, F. W. Head 1897; the Craven Studentship for Research by R. McG. Dawkins 1902; the Prendergast Greek Studentship by C. D. Edwards 1898; the Steward of Rannoch Scholarship by G. A. Thomas 1898. The Crosse Scholarship for Divinity has been won by E. H. Browne 1833, O. Glover 1854, R. C. W. Raban 1863, C. West-Watson 1901.

The Carus Greek Testament Prize has been won by R. C. W. Raban 1860, A. W. Streane 1874 (who also gained the Evans Theological Prize in 1875), J. K. Sopwith 1895, R. Talbot 1899. The Winchester Reading Prize was won twice by C. R. W. Cooke in 1865 and 1866; the Burney Essay by W. Blissard 1861, R. W. Cooke 1865 and 1866; the Hulsean Essay by J. Weller 1817, O. W. Wallace 1856, E. G. Wood 1866, W. Chawner 1872; the Le Bas Essay by B. A. Irving 1851 and 1852, R. W. Cooke 1864; the Thirlwall by E. E. Bryant 1895; the Norrisian by J. Woolly 1843 and 1844, B. A. Irving 1851; the Porson by G. J. Gill 1846 and 1847; the Prince Consort Prize by F. W. Head 1900; the Seatonian by C. Philpott 1790 and 1791, T. S. Hughes 1817, P. J. Loseby 1901; the Browne Medal by J. Walker for Greek Ode 1778; the Members' Latin Essay by E. V. Blomfield 1812, and English Essay by W. J. Pike 1893; the Maitland Prize by E. F. Fiske 1849; the Scholefield Prize by R. C. Raban 1862.

This record of College honours may fitly be closed by a somewhat more detailed account of one whose name is a perpetual honour to the place of his education. Jeremiah Horrocks or Horrox (1619-1641) entered the College in 1633, when fourteen years old, and remained three years. He then returned to the house of his father—a small farmer at Toxteth, near Liverpool. At College he had conceived a passion for astronomy, from the study of the works of Tycho Brahé and Kepler. On his return home he had to struggle with poverty and want of sympathy, but in 1636 he made the acquaintance of William Crabtree, who was an astronomer and considerable mathematician. This

friendship was his great support. In 1638, when only twenty, he was ordained to the curacy of Much Hoole, near Southport, and there, on November 24, 1639, by means of a telescope constructed by himself to examine the eclipse of the sun May 22 of the same year, he observed the transit of Venus. His own account of it is touching. It unfortunately happened on Sunday about three o'clock; his afternoon service only ended at that time, and the sun set at 3.50.

'About fifteen minutes past three,' he writes, 'when I was again at liberty to continue my labours, the clouds, as if by Divine interposition, were entirely dispersed, and I was once more invited to the grateful task of repeating my observations, when, lo, I beheld a most gratifying spectacle, the realization of so many ardent desires—a new spot of unusual magnitude and of perfect circular shape, which had already fully entered upon the sun's disc on the left, so that the limits of the sun and Venus precisely coincided, forming an angle of contact. I immediately lost all doubt that this was the shadow of Venus, and applied myself to the careful observation of it.'

Thus, as he expressed it himself, 'the tediousness of study was overcome by industry,' and one whom Newton described as 'a genius of the very first rank,' and to whom he acknowledged his obligations, though he died in his twenty-third year, left an almost unparalleled list of independent discoveries and investigations behind him. The church of Much Hoole—where he laboured for only a year—was in 1859 restored and enlarged in his honour, and in 1874, under the care of Dean Stanley, a tablet was placed in Westminster Abbey, the inscription on which will give briefly the achievements of his short life:

'AD MAJORA AVOCATUS,
QUÆ OB HÆC PARERGA NEGLIGI NON DECUIT.'

IN MEMORY OF

JEREMIAH HORROCKS,

CURATE OF HOOLE, IN LANCASHIRE,
WHO DIED ON THE 3RD OF JANUARY, 1641, IN OR NEAR HIS 22ND YEAR,
HAVING IN SO SHORT A LIFE
DETECTED THE LONG INEQUALITY IN THE MEAN MOTION OF
JUPITER AND *SATURN*;
DISCOVERED THE ORBIT OF THE MOON TO BE AN ELLIPSE;
DETERMINED THE MOTION OF THE LUNAR APSE;
SUGGESTED THE PHYSICAL CAUSE OF ITS REVOLUTION;
AND PREDICTED FROM HIS OWN OBSERVATION THE TRANSIT OF VENUS,
WHICH WAS SEEN BY HIMSELF AND HIS FRIEND WILLIAM CRABTREE
ON SUNDAY THE 24TH OF NOVEMBER (O.S.), 1639;
THIS TABLET FACING THE MONUMENT OF NEWTON
WAS RAISED AFTER THE LAPSE OF MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES,
DECEMBER 9TH, 1874.'

APPENDIX VII

ATHLETICS

On the athletic side the following lists will show what the College has done. The Boat Club was founded in 1843, the Cricket Club in 1834, and after two years' suspension (1839, 1840) was refounded in 1841.

Emmanuel Men in the University Boat rowing against Oxford.

1854.	Spencer Nairn.
1857.	Anthony Benn.
1863.	Richard Herbert Morgan.
1868.	James George Wood.
1869.	John Arthur Rushton.
1879.	Tom Routledge.
1888, 1889, 1890	James Cardwell Gardner.
1895, 1896	T. G. Duncanson.
1898.	S. V. Pearson.
	N. B. Rennie.
1901.	E. F. Duncanson.

Emmanuel Men in the University Eleven playing against Oxford.

1836, 1838, 1839 — C. G. Taylor.
1842, 1843, 1844 — T. L. French.
1844. W. Sykes.
1846, 1847, 1848, 1849 — R. T. King.
1849, 1850 — C. F. G. Jenyns.
1851, 1852 — J. S. Weston.
1852. E. A. Fuller.
1853, 1854 — E. M Reynolds.
1855. J. Bury.
1855, 1856, 1857 — O. Hammond.
1859. F. Nunn.
1876. V. K. Shaw.
1877. H. Pigg.
1879, 1880 — R. S. Jones.
1891, 1892 — G. J. V. Weigall.
1899, 1901, 1902 — J. Daniell.

Football (Rugby) against Oxford.

1882, 1883 — R. M. Pattisson.
1882, 1883, 1884 — C. H. Sample.
1898, 1899, 1900 — J. Daniell.
1898, 1899, 1900 — F. H. Jones.
1899, 1900 — G. H. Keeton.
1900, 1901, 1902, 1903 — J. V. Bedell-Sivright.
1904. E. L. Chambers.

FOOTBALL (ASSOCIATION).

1903. L. A. Bampfield.

ATHLETICS AGAINST OXFORD.

1865, 1866 } L. Tiffany (hurdles).
1881. J. A. Scott (weight).
1883. J. A. Scott (weight and hammer).
1904. S. Abrahams (long jump).
1904. E. L. Chambers (hammer).

LACROSSE.

1903, 1904 } G. F. Page.
1903, 1904 } N. H. P. Whitley.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNION.

1826. C. Lillingston.
1844. E. F. Fiske.
1852. H. Leach.
1865. E. S. Shuckburgh.
1899. J. R. P. Sclater.

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